THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have great pleasure in announcing that all the instruments having arrived and been examined, and all preparations having been made, Lieutenants Conder and Mantell have crossed the Jordan and taken up their quarters for the present at Ain Hesban, where they have been joined by the Surveyors, Messrs. Black and Armstrong.

The Survey of Eastern Palestine has therefore been commenced in the south instead of the north, as was originally proposed. The change has been necessitated by recent disturbances in the Hauran. The second theodolite did not arrive in Jerusalem until June, and the Arabs were then fighting, so that it was then impossible to cross the river. Now, however, peace is re-established. This delay at starting shows that the difficulties of the Eastern Survey may prove to be greater than those of the west. Fortunately, the officer in command is experienced, and may be trusted to exercise prudence and tact.

A base-line has been successfully measured, and eight trigonometrical stations have been set up. The work has been conducted under great difficulties arising from the heat, the thermometer in the Jordan valley standing at 118° F. in the shade. Lieutenant Conder's first report from the eastern side, and his notes on the commencement of the work, with his proposed identification of Balak's Altar, will be found in their place, in Report VIII.

Among the topics touched upon in the other Reports will be found a very remarkable attempt at identifying Kirjath Jearim with a place called Khurbet Erma. The suggestion had already been made by Lieutenant Conder, and is now followed up by a more careful examination of this ground. The name will be found on the great Map on Sheet XVII. Its reference in the Name Lists is (Kt), but it seems as if it should rather be (Jt). The ruin does not appear to have

been visited by anybody before the Survey—it is not, for instance, on Guérin's map or on Vandevelde's, or Murray's. The arguments advanced by Lieutenant Conder will be read with the greatest interest. Perhaps we have here a solution of one of the greatest topographical difficulties connected with the sacred narrative. His observations on Ai, Hebron, Gibeon, etc., may be advantageously followed by the light of the new map.

Lieutenant Conder has made a copy of the inscription of the Pool of Siloam, on which Professor Sayce sends a paper, which will be found in its place (p. 282). The copy was taken after Herr Guthe had cleared the letters by means of nitric acid. A cast has also been taken by Herr Paules, and is on its way to England. As regards the last, Lieutenant Conder writes, "I have been over it with my copy, which *agrees very well indeed* with it. I see one more letter, but do not see anything to change my copy." M. Clermont Ganneau is reported to be working at the inscription. Another aqueduct has been discovered, running west from the Pool of Siloam, on the same level as the one previously known. This new aqueduct, when traced, may lead to important discoveries. It was found by some fellahin.

Since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement*, the General Committee has been strengthened by the addition of two new members, namely, Sir Albert Sassoon, C.S.I., and Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S. They have also to lament the loss of four of their oldest and most valuable members, a notice of whom will be found on pp. 243–246.

The Reduced Map of Modern Palestine is now completed, having received the final corrections. The first edition will be issued on October 17th, after which date subscribers may expect to have their copies in order of application. They are reminded that the price to them is 6*s*. 6*d*. a copy, carriage free. To the general public it will be 12*s*., through all booksellers, or the agent, Mr. Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. It will be issued in six sheets, including the title page in a paper cover. There is in preparation a list of Biblical names and their identifications, a copy of which, when ready, will be given with the map. But the first subscribers will probably have to wait a little for this list. It will also be given to every subscriber of the large map who wishes for it.

As regards the two ancient maps, Mr. Saunders reports that the outline is engraved, and that they are proceeding with the names. We hope to have them ready very shortly.

For convenience of travellers and for library purposes, an arrangement has been made with the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, for mounting the map. He undertakes to mount the map on strong cloth, and to place it in a case for the bookshelf or for travelling. The map in this form will be charged 11*s*. 6*d*. a copy, carriage paid, to subscribers, and 18*s*. 6*d*. to non-subscribers. For hanging purposes, he will supply the map on mahogany rollers at 16*s*. 6*d*. for subscribers, and 24*s*. for the general public. And he will make special arrangements if desired for a more expensive mode of mounting.

Two more volumes of the Memoirs, viz., the "Name Lists" and the "Special Papers," have been issued. The next is far advanced and will be ready in November. The remaining two will, it is hoped, be issued in January.

Enquiries have been made as to the price of the memoirs in separate parts. It must be remembered that only a small number of copies remain; arrangements have been made for offering these copies to libraries in Great Britain, America, Germany, etc. Should any remain when these have been supplied, they may be had in separate parts, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The Great Map	3	3	0
The Memoir in 3 vols.	9	9	0
The Name Lists	3	3	0
The Special Papers	2	2	0
The Jerusalem work, with a portfolio of drawings	5	5	0

Mr. Saunders has completed his delineation of the water basins on the map of Western Palestine, and has given it to Mr. Stanford, the engraver and agent of the maps, to be laid down on the reduced map, which can then be used to illustrate and explain his "Introduction."

It can also be laid down on the great map, but as the work will have to be done by hand, the cost of doing so will be no less than £5. On the reduced map it can be done by a double printing at a very small cost. In fact a shilling will cover it. It is hoped that any one who wants Mr. Saunders' "Introduction" (now in the binder's hands) will have the water basin edition of the reduced map.

A general Index to the *Quarterly Statement* from its commencement to the issue of this number inclusive, has been prepared, and is now in the printer's hands. It will be ready some time in November.

The Committee will be greatly obliged if subscribers will forward their subscriptions for the current year as early as possible. Arrangements for lectures on the Biblical Results of the Survey by the Rev. Henry Geary and the Rev. James King should be made as early as possible.

The income of the Society from all sources from June 21st, 1881, to September 22nd, was 1,253*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, September 13th, was 451*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* About 1,000*l.* will be required before the end of the year.

A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

THE Society has experienced a very heavy blow in the deaths, during the last quarter, of four of its oldest and most valuable friends. The first of these, Dean Stanley, was one of the Founders of the Society. He gave the use of the Jerusalem Chamber for the meeting, at which he was present, on May 12th, 1865, when the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded. At this meeting he was appointed one of a Sub-Committee, afterwards expanded into the Executive Committee, appointed "to draw up a statement of the general objects of the Association." The other two members were the Archbishop of York, and Professor Owen. The Honorary Secretary was Mr. George Grove. It was this Committee who drew up that very careful document, the original Prospectus of this Society. Dean Stanley frequently addressed meetings in behalf of the work, and never failed in his interest in the scientific examination of the country for which he had himself done so much in his great work "Sinai and Palestine." The last occasion on which he showed his sympathy and gave his assistance was exactly similar to the first. He lent the Jerusalem Chamber for the very important meeting, presided over by himself, at which the Survey of Eastern Palestine was resolved upon. At the moment of his death our party were just beginning their work across the Jordan. His words at the meeting were:—"When the Palestine Exploration Fund was first set on foot by my friend Mr. Grove, though I sympathised heartily with the proposal, I felt what Mr. Freshfield has expressed as his feeling also, that the point at which every effort ought to be directed, was the exploration of Eastern Palestine. Beautiful as the new map of Western Palestine is, and great as has been the light which has been cast upon the country by the explorations, that light is as nothing compared with the light that can be thrown upon the eastern district of Palestine. Of all the features of interest that struck me when I first went to Palestine—a feature altogether undescribed, and of which I had not the least

idea till I went there, of which no book of travel had given the slightest information—the most interesting was the constant view of the mountains of Moab, and the great wall of the east of Jordan. Wherever we went, that wall, rising up from the purple chasm which separated us from it, was a beautiful source of mystery and of tantalization, filling us with a sense of ignorance, and with a desire to know what there was beyond it. I feel pleased and delighted beyond measure that that desire is now about to be satisfied."

Among the bequests of the Dean is one to the Palestine Exploration Fund of a small collection of books on the Holy Land and Egypt. These are now on the shelves of our office.

We have also to record the death of the Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, one of our Honorary Secretaries,

He joined the Committee, being then one of the Curates at Quebec Chapel, in November, 1866, and was associated with Mr. Grove as Honorary Secretary. In 1868 he raised the Sinai Survey Fund and joined the party, which was commanded by Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, which accomplished that valuable piece of work. On being appointed Vicar of Evesham he offered to resign his post as Honorary Secretary, but was requested by the Committee to continue a connection which was never, in spite of his absence from London, nominal. His death was sudden, and happened on a mountain side in Switzerland on August the 27th last.

Again, on the 11th of September, died Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., R.E., one of the Executive Committee, formerly one of our officers in Palestine, general editor of our maps, and always the constant friend, adviser, and upholder of this Society. The list of his public services is thus detailed in the *Times* of September 16th, and will help to show how great a loss our work has sustained :—

Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., of the Royal Engineers, who filled the office of Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Department, died at Dalhousie Grange, Bonnyrigg, N.B., on the 11th of September. He was in his 42nd year. Having received his professional education at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, he entered the corps of Royal Engineers as Lieutenant in December, 1858, and in September, 1859, was appointed surveying officer to the

North American Boundary Land Commission, under Colonel (now General Sir John S.) Hawkins, who had the duty of marking out the boundary between Her Majesty's possessions in North America and the territory of the United States. From this duty Major Anderson returned to England in July, 1862, but was employed in London in completing the maps of the Commission till February, 1864. After various professional engagements, in June, 1872, in which year he was promoted to Captain, another Commission was formed, under Major Donald R. Cameron, R.A., who was deputed to mark out, in conjunction with a Commissioner on the part of the United States of America, the line of boundary between British and American territory from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and to this Commission Major Anderson was appointed Chief Astronomer. In September, 1876, he was appointed Assistant Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Office, and in May, 1877, he was created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of his official services in North America. In 1879 he was employed for a few months as Her Majesty's Commissioner for the demarcation of the frontier of Servia, and attained the rank of Major in the Royal Engineers in September of the same year. A short time ago he succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Crossman, C.M.G., as Inspector of Mining Defences, which office becomes vacant by his death.

The following letter appeared in the "Times" of September 21st.

Sir,—Among your obituary notices on Friday last, September 16, occurred that of the late distinguished officer, Major Samuel Anderson, R.E., C.M.G. Will you allow me to supplement the list of his public services, there detailed, by the addition of those which he rendered to this Society during a period of 16 years? Major (then Lieutenant) Anderson was one of the two officers, the other being Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, who made a preliminary expedition through Western Palestine, with the view of ascertaining the best way to conduct the scientific and systematic examination of the country which this Society has since been carrying on. The survey of Western Palestine, now completed, and justly acknowledged to be the greatest contribution to Biblical illustration ever accomplished, is the outcome of that expedition, and will ever be associated with the names of the two officers who led it. When, again, ten years ago, the committee thought themselves justified in beginning this great and costly enterprise, it was Major Anderson who sought among the younger men of his corps for one possessing the ability, knowledge, and enthusiasm necessary for the work, and found him in the officer who executed the greater part of the survey.

He has since that time always been ready to give, not only advice, but also time and active work, to the furtherance of the undertaking, and at the time of

his death was the editor of the New Maps of Western Palestine, which will henceforth form the basis of all writings and discussions on Biblical geography and topography. His latest work for us was the outfit and despatch of the new expedition, with which we hope to do for the East of Palestine what we have already done for the West.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES GLAISHER, Chairman, Executive Committee.

Palestine Exploration Fund, 1, Adam Street,
Adelphi, W.C.

Lastly, we have to record the death of the Rev. Samuel Manning, LL.D., one of the members of the General Committee, and better known as Secretary of the Religious Society. His own work prevented him from actively aiding this Society, except when he was able to do so by speaking in its behalf. No one who heard his address at the Royal Institution some six years ago can fail to remember the eloquence and fulness of knowledge with which he explained the value of scientific exploration.

LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

V.

The Land of Benjamin.

Gibeon, 1*st July*, 1881.

Taking advantage of the delay occasioned by circumstances already referred to, we have revisited one of the first districts surveyed by the party employed in 1872, while under care of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, before my arrival in Palestine.

The chief points of interest include the questions of Rimmon and Ai; the vicinity of Gibeon and the battle of Ajalon; and the ruins of Tellilia, and Deir esh Shebâb, with some traditions connected with Tell 'Asûr, and el Jîb, &c. The general result of our re-examination is satisfactory, insomuch as the nomenclature of the Map has been tested in many places, and found correct; while scarcely any ruins of even the least importance are found to be omitted; all the really ancient sites and buildings having been plotted and described. This is specially satisfactory, inasmuch as the district is one of the most difficult to survey, on account of the ruggedness of the hills and the great depth of the valleys, while it was also one which was undertaken while the party were still new to the work, and unfamiliar with the archæology of the country.

The Rock Rimmon.—Until the year 1879, it was generally agreed that this site, in the wilderness (Judg. xx, 47) where the six hundred Benjamites lived for four months after their defeat at Geba of Benjamin (Judg. xx, 10 and 33) was to be recognised at the ancient village of Rummôn, on the edge of the cultivated hill-country, overlooking the desert ranges, above the Jordan valley. It has now, however, been proposed to recognise a connection between this Rimmon rock (which may most properly be rendered "high rock" on the authority of Gesenius, and on other authorities) with the "pomegranate tree which is by Migron" (1 Sam. xiv, 2), *Ha Rimmon asher bi Migron* in the Hebrew, a site which it is unnecessary to say cannot be expected still to exist if the rendering "pomegranate tree" be correct, but which is to be sought in the vicinity of Wâdy Suweinît (the valley of Michmash), to the cliffs of which the term Migron "precipice" appears from another passage to apply (Isaiah x, 28).

Those who support this view point to the large cave in Wâdy Suweinît called Mughâret el Jaî as the possible refuge of the Benjamites, and consequently to the precipice in which it occurs as the true Rock Rimmon. Having now revisited and carefully examined both this cave and the village of Rummôn, I send you the following results.

Before describing the sites, however, it is necessary to take note of the word *Sel'a*, rendered "rock" in the English version. It is a term of

frequent occurrence in the Bible, and is rendered almost invariably rock. The Rev. W. F. Birch, in writing on Rimmon (*Quarterly Statement*), 1879, p. 127) states that the term "always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff," and this has been urged as an objection to the identification of Rummôn with Sela Rimmon. The quotations which he gives (p. 129) are, however, scarcely sufficient to prove that *Sel'a* should be rendered precipice. Gesenius gives its radical meaning as signifying "High place or place of refuge," and the Septuagint translators, who may be supposed to have known the contemporary use of the word, render it by the Greek πετρα a stone or rock.

There are also passages in Scripture where the term can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, as in Psalm xvii, 2, "The Lord is my rock" or Psalm xl, 2, "Set my feet upon a rock," for David cannot be supposed to mean "set my feet upon a precipice"—a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort.

The arguments in favour of the site proposed by Mr. Birch (Mughâret el Jaî and the south cliff of the Michmash valley) are the following: 1st, the identity with the pomegranate tree, supposed to have existed at or near this spot, but no longer to be found; while the name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity; 2nd, the existence of a cave reputed to hold 600 men, which cave, however, is not mentioned in the Bible; 3rd, the existence of precipices, which may represent the Rock, or Sel'a, although, as shown above, the Hebrew word has not the meaning of precipice.

The present village *Rummôn* stands in a conspicuous position, at the end of a high narrow ridge which runs out south from the village of Taiyibeh. The houses stand on a rounded knoll of hard rock, very similar to that on which Beit 'Atâb (the Rock Etam according to my view) is built. On the west the rock is specially steep, with low cliffs or steps, some 10 feet high in places. On the south are several rude caves used as cattle stables, and called Shukâf Jiljâl; there are other small caves under the houses on the east. The village consists of straggling cottages of stone, supplied by ancient cisterns. There is a ruined tank on the flat top of the knoll. On the north is a small plateau with olive groves, on the west are some caves and rock-cut tombs. The site is evidently ancient, and is of great strength, as deep, narrow valleys occur on three sides, so that it is only easily reached from the north. On the east are the gorges and inaccessible precipices of the great ravine which runs from Taiyibeh to the Jordan valley. From the rocky hill top a fine view is obtained southwards, extending to Jebel Fureidîs, south of Jerusalem, and including Tell el Fûl, Jeba' (Geba of Benjamin) and er Râm, and on the north Taiyibeh and Tell 'Asûr are visible. This site I afterwards induced Dr. Chaplin to visit, and he agreed with me that it could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sel'a*, a rock, a high place, a stronghold, or place of refuge. Here, then, on a rock close to the edge of the *Midbar* or pastoral desert which extended east of Bethel (Josh. xviii, 12) we find the name Rimmon preserved unchanged, in a form which has no meaning in Arabic, but which in Hebrew properly describes the site as "high."

We must now turn to the question whether the cave called Jâi, is likely to have any connection with the rock called Rimmon. The position and character of the cave have been very carefully described in a former paper by Mr. H. B. Rawnsley, and I can only add the results of a careful survey of the interior (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1879, pp. 118–129 and 170-171). Mr. Rawnsley's plan, though rough, agrees fairly with the Survey now made, which was executed on main lines laid down with magnetic directions, with numerous offsets. This Survey enables us to calculate very closely the area of the cave.

Mughâret el Jâi is excavated in a precipice some 40 feet high, on the south bank of Wâdy Suweinît, east of Jeba' (Sheet XVII) and about a quarter of a mile east of the small hidden spring (Ain Suweinît) which is on the top of the precipices, but accessible by a path down a steep slope, which occurs west of the two bluffs, one called *el Mek'aur* ("the place of holes") in which is the cave, the other el *Koba'* (apparently "the helmet") immediately west of the former. The cavern is entered from the north-east, and is hidden from the west by the projecting bluffs. Beyond it is a second cave, to which I obtained the name *Abu Jemâl*, the entrance to which, partly closed by a rude wall, is quite inaccessible, being some 20 feet from the foot of the cliff. This second cave faces north-west, a recess occurring in the precipice between the two caverns.

The rocky slope at the foot of the cliffs is polished by the bare feet of shepherds and the hoofs of goats, and an explorer shod with boots is in great danger of sliding down towards the stiff slope which falls perhaps 300 feet to the rocky bed of the ravine. On the north rise cliffs and bluffs equally barren, and also burrowed with caves.

The gorge is as solitary and desolate as the well known kelt valley, which it joins further east; and is inhabited by the black grackles, the rock-doves, and desert partridges; while the sage-bushes, the thorny *bellân*, and a few scattered *Kharrûbah* trees form the only vegetation. The guide who accompanied us seemed much impressed by the awful silence and desolation of the great valley. He muttered constant prayers to the Moslem saints for aid, and sat in the great entrance-hall of the cave, and refused to come further. He became much alarmed when we disappeared in the dark; and afterwards, when the light of a magnesium torch shone in the distance, we could hear him calling to us as we penetrated yet further into the darkness, and he gravely stated that the great passage led to Jerusalem, and that if we walked from dawn till eve we should not come to the end.

But although the site is impressive, the cave itself was disappointing. It is not like the famous Khureitûn cavern, a network of halls and passages, but simply a large cavern, with a narrower gallery leading upwards and returning with a stiff descent to a second entrance visible in the cliff, west of that now accessible. Why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in this vicinity should have pitched on this particular cave it would be difficult to understand, seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley, were it not that they appear to rely on the statement of the fellahin that this cave will contain 600 men, and that 16 flocks of 100

sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber. The Survey shows that the total area of the cave and its branches does not exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 square yards. Thus if 1,600 sheep were ever crowded into this chamber they must have stood half of them on the backs of the rest, as more than 3 sheep could scarcely be packed into 2 square yards.

In the same way, allowing 6 feet by 3 feet for a man, if the 600 Benjamites lived and slept in this cave (even including the branches which are low and pitch dark) 120 of them must have lain above the rest (which is improbable). I am therefore unable to agree with Mr. Rawnsley that "three hundred could perhaps find ample accommodation," as even this smaller number would necessitate the supposition that for four months they were packed twice as thick in this dark cavern (without ventilation) as soldiers in barrack rooms, which, however carefully ventilated, are still unpleasantly crowded at night.

Thus the only remaining argument in favour of this site—that it is a cave capable of containing 600 men, vanishes before the results of careful survey, and we are left to choose between a rock where the name Rimmon still exists, and a cave in a cliff which will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story, and has not any connection by name with the topography of the episode, and is not mentioned in the Bible.

The cave appears to be mainly natural, formed probably by the action of water, and possibly enlarged by man. The floor is covered with the dung of sheep and bats, a few of the latter being encountered, while a goat's skull lay at the end of the passage which once communicated with the second entrance. The roof of the main chamber is blackened with smoke. The branches have lower roofs and are quite dark. There is nothing remarkable in this cavern, which resembles many others visited by the Survey-party, some being much larger. Both sides of the valley have many similar caves of various dimensions, mostly inaccessible. In almost every case they appear to be traditionally connected with the Christians, and a comparison with similar caves near Mâr Sâba, in Wâdy Kelt, and on Jebel Kŭrŭntŭl, seems to show that whether or no they were originally natural, they have been enlarged by the hermits who, in the 5th and 12th centuries, retired to these fastnesses and lived and died in the caves.

In searching for the name Rimmon at this spot, Mr. Rawnsley collected many titles applied to surrounding features, some of which were new. These local names are specially numerous in the desert districts, where the Arabs have no landmarks other than those formed by natural features, and we recovered no less than thirty similar names in one valley near Taiyibeh.* They do not, however, as a rule, appear to be very ancient or of

* The same peculiarity of the much greater number of names applied to natural objects in pastoral districts, as compared with those in the settled or agricultural districts, is observable in the British Ordnance Survey. The surveyors, I am told, in the highlands find among the Gaelic shepherds that every feature has a well known name, and the number thus collected is much

any special value, but can easily be recognised as describing the peculiarities of the features to which they apply in the present case ; while some of the names are evidently genuine and well known, others are differently given by different guides and are extremely doubtful. The following are the names collected in a length of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the course of Wâdy Suweinît.

I.—*North side of Valley going East.*

1. *El'Aleiliyât*, "the upper chambers," hermits' caves. See Sheet XVII.
2. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," hermits' caves with windows in cliff.
3. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," another group in same cliff $\frac{1}{2}$ mile E. It seems that the name must apply to the whole cliff.
4. *'Arâk esh Shinnâr*, "Partridges' Cave," above No. 1.
5. *El Merjâmeh*, "place of the Cairn," above No. 3.
6. *Sh'ab el Hûti* "the walled spur," a narrow spur of rock like a wall with ravine behind.
7. *Khallet er Râhîb*, "monks' dell," above this ravine.
8. *Kurnet el Falkeint*, "peak of two clefts," a cliff.
9. *'Arâk el W'ar*, "cave of rough rocks," above No. 8.
10. *'Arak* (or *Shakif*) *el Akhdeish*, "Cliff of the Scratch."

II.—*South side of Valley going East.*

11. *Kal'at Abu Dâmûs*, "Castle of Damus," a large cave opposite No. 1. See Survey, Sheet XVII.
12. *Khallet el Haiyeh*, "dell of the snake," from a ruin of same name south-east of it.
13. *'Ain Suweinît*, "spring of the little Acacia."

larger than in the Lowlands, where the country is divided into fields, and the roads, villages, and buildings form landmarks which do not exist in the moors. I believe that the same rule applies in Palestine, as we have always collected more names (though fewer of value) among the Bedawin than among the Fellahin. In the vicinity of Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron, there are, however, unquestionably a great number of names, applying to hills and valleys, although for the most part they appear to be of little value to the archæologist, and are often indisputably modern.

In connection with this question I may mention a very interesting conversation with Mr. S. Bergheim, of Abu Shusheh. He quoted to me several instances in which, within the last ten years, the peasantry in the above village had changed the names of various plots of ground, and small valleys, in consequence of local events. Thus a hill formerly known by another name is now called by that of an Arab found murdered on the spot. This fully accords with the survey experience, and it appears necessary to distinguish between the true nomenclature attaching to villages, ruins, springs, and spring wells, and the secondary local nomenclature of small natural features which appears to be of modern and varying character.

14. *El Kob'a*, from a root meaning "domed," a cliff.
15. *El Mek'aûr*, "the place of holes," cliff with caves.
16. *Mughâret el Jâi.* The meaning is unknown to the Fellâhîn.
17. *Mughâret Abu Jemâl*, "Cave of Camels."

The only names of any interest in this long list seem to be Nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 16, of which only 7 and 13 are omitted on the Survey, Sheet XVII.

The name Jâi (16) appears to come from the same root as the Hebrew Gai, and the Arabic *Jeiyeh*, has the same meaning as the Hebrew Gai, viz., "a place where water collects." It has been suggested above that it was by the action of water that the cavern was originally formed, but it is perhaps more probable that it should simply be rendered "cave of the ravine," in allusion to the side ravine which runs into the gorge immediately east of the cave or to the main valley itself.

In consequence of the assumption that the 600 Benjamites lived in a cave, and that this cave was Mujhâret el Jâi, the cavern has been awarded an undue amount of importance, for there are many other caves of greater interest in Wâdy Suweinît (especially Nos. 1, 2, and 11), though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible.

In these, perhaps, the mysterious Essenes dwelt long before the Christian hermits, and probably among them we may recognise the "Caves and rocks, and high places ('Alâli) and pits" (1 Sam. xiii. 6) in which the Israelites hid from the Philistine garrison of Geba.

The most important in appearance of these is the cave in the great cliff called el Hosn, "the stronghold," which cliff appears to be the Biblical Bozez as mentioned in "Tent-Work in Palestine." After visiting the Mughâret el Jâi I attempted, in company with Mr. Armstrong, to reach this other cave, climbing down about 600 feet and ascending some 200 feet on the north side of the gorge. Here we found ourselves at the foot of a cliff at least 100 feet high and seemingly inaccessible. Near the top were the little windows which seem to belong to a chapel, but the caves at the foot of the cliff which we had hoped to find connected with this upper story proved to be only shallow excavations blackened by smoke.

We now attempted to reach the windows by climbing the precipice, and for this purpose I took off my boots and clambered over a high ledge slippery from the naked feet of former climbers, and found myself on a broad platform extending to the Aleiliyât caves on the west. Above this was another cliff some 20 feet high, which I was able to climb without great difficulty, reaching a second narrower terrace. The next cliff was apparently quite inaccessible, but I found in it a fissure half filled by a bush, and using my shoulders against the sides of the crevice I succeeded in gaining a yet higher and narrower ledge. Walking eastwards along this I endeavoured to reach the windows, which were hidden by an intervening buttress of rock. I found, however, that the ledge terminated in a vertical cliff, and that I was now higher than the windows, although not yet at the very top of the cliff. Descending again to the next terrace, I joined my companion, and we again tried to reach the cave, but found that there was no foot-hold on the cliff. We were thus obliged to abandon the

attempt when within a few yards of our object, and after a very fatiguing climb. We marked the spot which we reached with a sheet of white paper, and descending to the bottom of the ravine climbed up the south side, visiting another small cave in a cliff. On gaining the top of the southern precipice, much exhausted by our efforts, we looked back at the white sheet of paper, and I was surprised to find that I had climbed the whole cliff with exception of the highest ledge, which did not appear to be more difficult than those surmounted.

The interest of this escalade lies in the fact that the cliff of el Hosn is probably the rock Bozez, up which Jonathan climbed "upon his hands, and upon his feet, and his armour-bearer after him" (1 Sam. xiv, 13).

The position of the Philistine camp near Michmash is carefully described by Josephus, in a manner which strikingly recalls the cliff of el Hosn, and it seems possible that in the name *Hosn*, or "Stronghold," may linger some reminiscence of the ancient history of the spot. The descent of the cliff Seneh is not mentioned as specially difficult in the history of Jonathan's adventure, and the fact that the Survey party once brought their horses down this side of the gorge shows that though apparently impassable, a comparatively easy descent can be found. I had always, however, supposed that it would be impossible to climb up the northern precipice, and Mr. Rawnsley has recently suggested that Jonathan reached the top by the *Shâb et Hûti*, a steep but quite practicable ascent.

The objections to this view seem to be that this approach would no doubt have been specially guarded by the Philistines, and, moreover, that Jonathan would not have been obliged to climb on his hands and feet, as stated in the Biblical account. It was no doubt the audacity of the attempt, and the appearance of the enemy at an apparently impregnable point, that spread such panic among the Philistines, and in searching for an entrance to the hermits' caves, I unconsciously proved the possibility of scaling the cliffs, perhaps at the very point where Jonathan himself ascended. Above the precipices a stiff slope of perhaps 200 feet or more leads to the flatter ground near the summit, and if the Hebrew champion at all approached the modern Arab in his powers of endurance, there appears to be nothing impossible in his being fit to fight when he reached the top of the mountain.

In riding from our camp at el Jîb to the valley of Michmash, we passed through Jeb'a, and as questions have at various times arisen respecting the view from this village, I carefully recorded the places visible. There is high ground immediately north of the houses, almost level with the top of the central tower, and the view is here the same obtained by Dr. Chaplin when standing on the tower itself, but as the position of the village is not high compared with the surrounding ridges, the panorama is much less extensive than seems to have been supposed. From Jeb'a (2,220 above the sea) are seen on the north, Rummôn, Mukhmâs (Taiyibeh being hidden), Tell 'Asûr (3,300), et Tell, Deir Diwân (2,570), Burkah and Kefr 'Akâb: both Beitîn and Bîreh are hidden by intervening hills, though the gardens of the latter can be seen.

On the west, er Râm is completely shut out by the crest of its own hill, although 400 feet higher than Jeb'a, on the south-west Tell el Fûl (2,754) stands up against the sky-line, and the ridge near it entirely conceals every part of the Jerusalem plateau; as a section along this line would show to be necessarily the case. Hizmeh (2,020), and 'Anâta (2,225) are visible, but the ridge of Râs el Meshârif (2,900) conceals the buildings on Olwet (2,700). A portion of the Dead Sea is visible on the east, but the view from er Râm is much more extensive than that from Jeb'a.

Aî.—From our Taiyibeh camp in company with Dr. Chaplin and Lieutenant Mantell, I made a thorough investigation of the vicinity of Bethel and Michmash. It has been advanced by other writers in the *Quarterly Statement* that the term *beside* (Josh. xii, 9), intimates that Aî was close to Bethel, while the same may be deduced from the description of Abraham's altar, "having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east" (Gen. xii, 8). For this reason the site proposed by Lieutenant Kitchener (Khŭrbet el Hâi, south-east of Michmash) appears unsuitable, being at a distance of six miles south-east of Bethel, and therefore not likely to be mentioned as defining the situation of the mountain east of Bethel, and not properly describable as "beside" that city.

It is curious to note how many places there are in this district to which the name *Haiyeh* ("living animal" or "serpent," according to the termination) is applied; 1st, Khŭrbet el Haiyeh, south of Wâdy Suweinît; 2nd, Khŭrbet el Hâi, north of the same; 3rd, Khŭrbet Haîyan; 4th, Khŭrbet, Dâr, Haiyeh, further north; 5th, Wâdy Abu Haiyât, east of the latter. None of these have, however, the exact form of the Hebrew Ai (העי), though the *He* may perhaps take the place of the Hebrew guttural *Ain*.

Khŭrbet Hâi is an insignificant ruin, apparently a shepherd's hamlet, with caves and foundations of ruined cottages. It has a large cistern on the hill above it, and enclosures walled in with large rude blocks, which are often found round the village threshing floors. The natives of Mukhmâs say that this was formerly a village belonging to them, and inhabited by Moslems.

The site which appears most probably to represent Aî, is the important ruin of Haiyân, immediately south of the curious hillock called et Tell. The vicinity has long been recognized as the approximate locality, but the ruins were first described by the Survey party.

The mound of et Tell with its terrace walls of rude stones, and its conspicuous group of olives, is a natural feature modified by the construction of the terraces. It does not appear to have been the site of a city, and only a single cistern has been found there. It is, however, only half-a-mile distant from Khŭrbet Haiyân, and the arguments which were brought forward by Vandevelde, Colonel Wilson, and others, apply with even greater force to the site at Haiyân. There is a deep valley to the north (Josh. viii, 11), such as would be called *Gai;* there is an open plateau on the east, which may perhaps be intended by the "plain" ('Arabah, Josh. xii, 14); and there is a valley on the

west (Wâdy el Medînet), which may have afforded concealment to the ambush sent by Joshua from Gilgal (Josh. viii, 3) before he marched up to Aî himself (verse 10), supposing that this force of 30,000 men advanced by the only really practicable route, which leads from Jericho to the vicinity of Michmash, and reaches Haiyân on the south-east.

The ruins of Haiyân will be found fully described in the memoir to Sheet XVII; they include several large tombs on the south, three fine rock-cut tanks (the largest in the district), and a number of rock-cut tombs on the north. The site is now covered with olive gardens, but the name is well known to the villagers of Deir Diwân, a Moslem village immediately north of the site.

From Haiyân we followed the old road westwards to Bethel. On this road there is a curious construction of rude stones on the ridge some 300 yards west of et Tell; it resembles one or two other similar foundations to be found near Bethel, being apparently solid, about 10 feet square, of rude unshaped blocks 2 to 4 feet in length. There are three courses standing, and the building might be taken for an altar (which would be of the highest interest in such a situation); but its position by the roadside more probably indicates that it is a small watch-tower, such as are frequently found on Roman roads.

We paid three visits to the vicinity of Bethel with the view of examining the supposed circle of stones said to exist near it. We were, however, unable to arrive at any other conclusion than that the curious rocks photographed by Colonel Wilson are natural features; and although Dr. Sepp speaks (I believe) of a rude stone circle, I was unable to find any such monument after searching the entire vicinity. The rocks called *el Kŭla'h* are very remarkable features, and might at a distance easily be mistaken for remains of an ancient monument, but they are not detached from the mass of the mountain, and are not arranged in any particular form.

It is worthy of notice in this connection that the plains of Jordan and the north end of the Dead Sea are clearly visible from the ridge between Beitîn and Haiyân, where Abraham's altar would probably have stood (Gen. xiii, 10). Thus the crusading monastery of Burj Beitîn, and the neighbouring chapel of el Mukâtir, no doubt represent the traditional sites of this famous altar in the 12th and 5th centuries respectively.

Gibeon.—Our camp has been fixed at this famous city for ten days, and we have carefully examined the site of the ancient town. *El Jîb*, the modern village, occupies the north end of a detached hill some 200 feet high, surrounded by broad flat corn valleys on every side. The inhabitants state that the old city stood on the south part of the hill, and here in the sides of the natural scarps which fortify the site we have visited and explored some 20 rock-cut tombs. There are eight springs on the hill, the largest, on the last, being one of the finest supplies of water in this part of Palestine. One of the springs is called *el Birkeh*, and flows out into a rock-cut tank measuring 11 feet by 7 feet, the

water issuing from a small cave. This place is south-west of the village, and close to the main east and west road through Gibeon. The pool is cut in the face of a cliff, and has a wall of rock about 3½ feet high on the west. Above it grows a pomegranate tree, and near it are ancient tombs in the cliff.

THE POOL IN GIBEON.

The reader will remember the dramatic account of the meeting between Joab with David's followers, and Abner with the clansmen of the house of Saul (2 Sam. ii, 13); how they sat one on one side, the other on the other at "the pool in Gibeon," and arranged the fatal duel between the young men who were bid to "arise, and play before us." The Hebrew word describing the pool is the same as the modern Arabic Birkeh, and the apparent antiquity of the ancient tank fed partly by rain water, partly by the little spring in the cave, seems to countenance the idea that we here find preserved one of the lesser sites of the Biblical narrative, the recovery of which lends so much force and reality to the ancient narration.

It is possible, however, that the great spring ('Ain el Belled) is the place intended in this episode, as it wells up in a chamber some 30 feet long and 7 feet wide, reached by a descent of several steps. This cave resembles very closely that of the Gibeon spring (Virgin's Fountain) at Jerusalem, for there is said to be a passage with steps leading up from

the back of the cave to the surface above. As the water is some 5 feet deep, and the passage is now stopped up, we did not attempt to enter it. It is, however, clear that a door of some kind once existed at the present entrance to the cave, and it would appear that the inhabitants of Gibeon were thus able to close their spring below, and to obtain access to it from above within the city.

The spring in question, like many of the famous fountains in Palestine, is held sacred by the Fellâhin. An earthenware lamp is occasionally lighted in the chamber, but at other times the peasantry say that supernatural lights and smoke are seen within, and that a *Neby* or Prophet inhabits the cave. Close by is a little rock chamber with a rude masonry wall. It is plastered inside, and in one of the niches of its rock sides we found some sardine tins containing offerings of pomegranate flowers and young figs, while pottery lamps are placed in others. This Mukâm is called Jâmia' el Burîdeh, and near it above the spring is a small platform for prayer. The villagers may often be seen praying here, and great consternation fell upon the women who drew water when they found the sacred grotto of the spring full of dense white smoke some few days since. It was not, however, in this instance the action of the presiding genius, descending to punish the peasants for allowing Franks to enter the sacred cave, for the smoke was the result of burning a magnesium torch for the better investigation of the dark interior.

It is worthy of remark that the older the site of a village in Palestine, the more numerous and venerable are the sacred places now recognized by the Fellâhin of the spot. At Gibeon we have but one instance of that reverence for living water, which is so marked and so natural a feature of the ancient Asiatic religions, from the Ganges to the Nile. The niches which once held perhaps statues of the genii of the springs, are still to be found at Baniâs, Jericho, Shechem, Yasûf, and in other places where five fountains occur. Springs, trees, stones, and mountain tops, form the central objects of the Fellâh cultus not less than of that of the ancient Canaanites.

From Gibeon we visited among other places the Nether Beth Horon, where a treasure trove was reported some little time since, which proved, however, as in so many other cases, to be an exaggerated version of the discovery of a small rock tomb. We ascertained the correctness of the position of Khŭrbet Dâriah, which I have proposed to identify with Ataroth Adar (Josh. xviii, 13), and although scarcely a trace of a ruin exists we found the name to be well known among the peasantry.

In returning I was reminded of the eloquent description given by Dean Stanley of the defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, and the pursuit from Gibeon to Ajalon. If, however, we are to apply strictly the words of the book, we must seek a place north of Gibeon, and in sight of the Valley of Ajalon (Josh. x, 12). In such a position we should imagine Joshua to have stood when he spoke the words, "sun stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon." If the sun stood still "in the midst of heaven," it was of necessity visible in the south,

while the moon cannot have been (as picturesquely described by Dean Stanley) a crescent, but must have been in the third quarter on account of its relative position to the sun.

It may be noted that there is a position on the ancient road from Gibeon to Bethoron, which fulfils these requisites, for on the hill east of Khŭrbet el Lattâtîn, a view is obtained down the ravine of Wâdy Selmân, while Gibeon and the high place of Gibeon (if at Neby Samwîl) are visible on the south.

Within the village of el Jîb, Lieutenant Mantell has recently discovered the remains of a small crusading church. The place is called *el Kenîseh* by the natives, but the building is now converted into a house, and the plan is scarcely traceable. The nave appears to have been 22 feet wide by 40 feet long. No apse is now visible, but the west wall, with an orial window, exactly resembles that of the crusading church at Taiyibeh.

Ebenezer.—We have also taken this opportunity to visit Khŭrbet Samwîl, which Mr. Birch proposes to identify with the stone erected by Samuel (1 Sam. vii, 12). Some foundations, caves, and rock-cut cisterns exist here, and near it on a high knoll is the ruined fort called *el Burj*, which seems to be not earlier than crusading times, even if as early. No monument of the kind required now exists on this spot, and it appears probable that the name is derived from the proximity of *Neby Samwîl*. The identity of the latter with Mizpeh, as proposed by Dr. Robinson, has been disputed mainly on account of a passage which appears to place Mizpeh on the road from Shiloh to Jerusalem (Jer. xli, 5-7). The topographical notices of this important place are otherwise so vague, that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have applied. The identification of Shen with Deir Yasîn was mentioned to me in 1874, by Dr. Chaplin. As regards Ebenezer, the only point which is clear is that the early Christians believed Deir Abân to mark the site. This I found in 1876 in reading the "Onomasticon." It appears to have been also independently recognised by M. Clermont Ganneau, although I have been unable to find any publication earlier than 1877, in which he announces his discovery. No doubt other readers of Jerome's works must have formed the same conclusion, although Robinson appears to have overlooked it.

Roman Camp at Tellûlia.—The hill east of Wâdy Beit Hannîna, which is a spur of the Neby Samwîl ridge, terminates in a rather steep slope, and on the end of the spur is seen what appears to be a gigantic cairn of stones; a careful examination, however, proves that this is a quadrangular enclosure built of unhewn stones without mortar.

The area measures 190 feet north and south, by 130 feet east and west, and the labour entailed in its construction must have been enormous. The interior is subdivided into three by two walls, running north and south, while cross walls form side chambers about 37 feet by 40 feet along the sides of the enclosure. On the outside is a slope formed of loose stones,

which though partly due, perhaps, to the falling down of the walls, seems to have been intended to strengthen the fortification with an outer scarp. No well or cistern is visible inside, but there is a large cistern on the hill 200 or 300 yards to the west. The walls are still standing some 15 feet above the ground outside the structure, and 6 or 8 feet above the interior.

Such rude stone buildings are generally considered among the oldest remains to be found in Palestine. The stones used are, indeed, not much larger than those employed in building terrace walls, but the work seems too important to have been executed by the Felláhin for a cattle fold, and the position commands the junction of two important roads, both showing signs of antiquity. That on the west comes down from Neby Samwîl, and that on the east follows the valley from el Jîb; the two join on the south and ascend thence to Jerusalem.

The conclusion which seems most natural is that Tellîlia ("the little Tell") represents a camp constructed by one of the Roman armies (either of Titus or Severus) in advancing on Jerusalem. The whole structure resembles the Roman Camps which exist almost untouched at Masada; and in a mountain district where earth was not to be found in sufficient quantity it seems that the Romans were obliged to use stone.

This discovery at Tellîlia serves to confirm a conjecture which has often occurred to me, that the great stone heaps north of Jerusalem, and west of the Nâblus road, represent the remains of the camp which Titus constructed on Scopus. The plan of a camp can in this case no longer be traced, but the long line of stone-heaps called *Rujm el Kehakîr* has an appearance very similar to the rude scarp at Tellîlia—a work which must have entailed the labour of a large body of men, and the collection of materials from a considerable area.

'Alâli el Benât ("the towers of the maidens"), east of Kîlia (Sheet XV), in the great gorge of Wâdy Sâmieh. Mr. Black has recently explored a curious hermits' cave with three cisterns. It is reached by a narrow stair of rock in the face of the precipice, and it presents the same peculiarity found in several of the caves of Wâdy Suweinît, &c., namely a little gallery leading to a window in the rock at a higher level than the cave-mouth, from which the anchorites were able to reconnoitre anyone approaching their abode.

Deir esh Shebâb.—Although this site, representing a mediæval monastery north of Bethel, has been more than once visited, it is curious that the front has never been noticed. It is hewn out of a single block, and is of the usual form,—a cylinder hollowed within, in form of a cross composed of four semicircles on four sides of a central square. Other examples occur at Jufna, Tekoa, Khŭrbet, Zakariya, and near Beit Jebrîn.

Deir esh Shebâb, "Monastery of youths," possibly represents a traditional site of the "School of the Prophets" near Bethel. The ruins are described in full in the memoir.

Tell 'Asûr.—This mountain (which is generally called *el 'Asûr* or *el Aser* by the natives) has been identified in an apparently satisfactory

manner with the ancient Baal Hazor, or Baal of the "Enclosure;" and it now appears that the mountain is still a sacred place. There is no building on the summit, but a fine group of oaks; the remains perhaps of a sacred grove, such as is still to be found venerated among the Nuseireh Pagans. During our recent visit to the cairn constructed on this hill (one of the highest points in Palestine) in 1872, and which we found still standing, Dr. Chaplin, who accompanied the party, was informed that there was a cave, sacred to Sheikh Haderah, at the place. This name preserves the Hebrew Hazor in the usual Arabic form with the *Dâd*. I am also informed that the Moslems of the vicinity are in the habit of making vows to the Rijâl el 'Asawîr, or "Men of 'Asûr," whom they now call Companions of the Prophet. It seems, therefore, that, although no modern shrine or ancient stone temple now exists (the vineyards having crept to the very top of the hill), yet traces of the old Canaanite worship are still recognisable on the spot among the modern Fellâhin.

Fellah traditions.—The collector of such traditions has to contend with many difficulties. In 1874 a good many stories, which were rude imitations of the Biblical narrative, were collected at Sŭr'ah, in connection with the tomb of Neby Samit, who is variously represented as having been identical with, or brother of *Shemshân el Jebbâr*. We have only just returned from a three days' visit to this village. We were told the stories of the defeat of infidels by this hero, armed with a camel's jaw-bone instead of a sword, of his death under a great building, of his being betrayed by a woman, but we also found that the village for many years has been owned by a Christian from Beit Jâla, and the peasants at once confessed that they knew nothing of Neby Sâmit before the new owner told them who he was. In the same way at Taiyibeh, we were told that the old name was 'Afrâ, and that it was the city of Gideon. This tradition is derived from the Latin priest, who has thus instilled erroneous ideas into the Fellah mind, as, even if it were certain that Taiyibeh represents Ophrah of Benjamin, it certainly could not represent Gideon's city Ophrah of Abiezer, which belonged to Manasseh (Judg. vi, 11–15), and was probably the Samaritan Ophrah, now called Fer'ata, not far from Shechem.

It is, moreover, another cause of difficulty that the traditions of the peasantry are rapidly being forgotten, as are those of the Samaritans. The young men do not know the stories which can occasionally be extracted from an old man or woman. At Abu Shûsheh, Mr. Bergheim, in the winter's evenings, has had many such stories related to him by an old Sheikh, now dead, including the plot of the "Merchant of Venice," and that of "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," both slightly altered and orientalised. In the first story it was a father-in-law, who exacted the pound of flesh in case of the husband quarrelling with his wife, and the wife who invented the limitation that no blood should be drawn. This tale the Sheikh had heard from his father. Possibly it may have come down from the twelfth century, but when we consider how modern research has traced the fairy tales of Europe to the East, and found

Cinderella's glass slipper in India, there seems no very great improbability in thus recovering in Syria the stories—much older than the time of Shakespeare, on which he founded the plots of two of his plays.

VI.

'Ain Karim, 14*th July*, 1881.

Kirjath Jearim.—We have just returned from a long ride to Khŭrbet 'Erma, which, in 1878, I indicated as possibly representing the important town of Kirjath Jearim, and our observations at this spot, which I had not previously visited in person, seem so materially to confirm the identification, that it may be of interest to recapitulate the arguments published on various occasions in the *Quarterly Statement*, and to describe in full the existing remains.

Kirjath Jearim is first mentioned in the Book of Joshua as identical with Kirjath Baal, a town of Judah (Josh. xv, 60). It was on the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (verse 9), and from the peculiar expressions used in the description of the border line (Josh. xviii, 15 ; xv, 10), it appears that the town must have stood at an angle, from which the line ran in two directions, one being eastwards towards Nephtoah, the other northwards towards Kesla, which is Chesalon, on the north side.

The next appearance of the city is in the Book of Judges, when the men of Dan, who had no inheritance (Judges xviii, 1), went up to the Mahaneh Dan, which was "behind" (or more correctly *west of*) Kirjath Jearim. Of the position of this Mahaneh Dan, or "Camp of Dan," we have a further indication in the history of Samson, in which it is mentioned as "between Zorah (*Sŭr'ah*) and Eshtaol" (Eshû'a) (Judges xiii, 25). The term Mahaneh is identical with *Mukhnah*, "camp," a title now applied to the plain east of Shechem, and it seems to be properly indicative of a plain fit for camping ground. We can therefore have little hesitation in placing the Mahaneh Dan in the broad Wâdy Surâr, near the recognized sites of Zorah and Eshtaol ; and the site of Kirjath Jearim should thus apparently be sought east of this natural camping ground.

Kirjath Jearim is again mentioned as the place where the Ark remained for twenty years after the destruction of the men of Beth Shemesh (1 Sam. vi, 19 ; vii, 1). From this passage it appears that Kirjath Jearim was in the mountains above Beth Shemesh ; yet Josephus, who may be supposed to have known the real site, states that the two cities were near one another (6 "Ant.," i, 4).

At a late period David went down to Baale (or Kirjath Jearim) to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem. It was found in the house of Abinadab "in Gibeah" (the hill or knoll), but this place would appear to have been in or part of the city of Baalah. This is the last mention of the city

except its enumeration in the lists of Ezra, where the name appears under the abbreviated form Kirjath Arim (Ezra ii, 25).

From these various notices we may sum up the apparent requisites which should be satisfied in any site proposed as identical with this important town.

1. The name Arim or Jearim ("thickets") should be recovered, and the site should present such thickets.

2. It must be east of the Mahaneh Dan, which lay between Zorah and Eshtaol.

3. It must be south of Chesalon, identified with the modern Kesla.

4. It must be near Beth Shemesh (now 'Ain Shems), which agrees with the second indication.

5. It must be in the mountains above the last-mentioned site.

6. It must be at the south-west angle of the border line of Benjamin.

7. Its position must agree with that of Nephtoah and Rachel's tomb (cf. Josh. xv, 9 ; and, 1 Sam. x, 2), so as to allow of an intelligible line being drawn for the south border of Benjamin.

8. The name Baalah indicates either that a high place of Baal existed at the city, or else that the position was elevated (taking Baal in a wider geographical sense, as some authorities are inclined to do).

9. A rounded hillock or humped knoll of some kind seems indicated by the term Gibeah, occurring in connection with the site of the city.

The usual site shewn as representing Kirjath Jearim is the village of Kuryet el 'Anab ("Town of Grapes"), better known as Abu Ghosh, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. This town is called simply el Kuryeh by the Fellâhin, and appears to be the ancient Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28), a place apparently distinct from Kirjath Jearim, and situated in the Lot of Benjamin, whereas the latter belonged to Judah. There is no doubt that in the fifth century Abu Ghosh was believed to be Kirjath Jearim, and the only argument which Dr. Robinson has adduced in favour of this identification appears to be founded on the early Christian tradition, which he too often quotes in favour of his own views, even against his own canon of criticism condemning such traditions as of no value. The site thus commonly pointed out to travellers does not, however, fulfil the requisites enumerated. The name Arim is not found at Abu Ghosh, the site of which lies 9 miles north-west of 'Ain Shems, and 3½ miles north-west of Chesalon. The border line of Benjamin cannot be drawn through Abu Ghosh and also through Rachel's tomb, without being so twisted as to be practically improbable, while no special features occur which would serve to explain the names Gibeah and Baalah, connected with that of Kirjath Jearim.

These objections have been so far recognized by various writers as to induce some archæologists to prefer the conspicuous village of Sôba, as proposed by Dr. Chaplin, a site answering better to the requirements of the name Baalah or Gibeah. Sôba is the Bel Mont of the Crusaders, and is undoubtedly an ancient Jewish site. In the Septuagint of Josh. xv (verse inserted after 60) it seems to be mentioned, according to some

MSS., under the form Thobes. It lies, however, 4 miles east of Chesalon, and is separated by 10 miles of rugged mountains from Beth Shemesh. No trace of the name Kirjath Jearim has been found in its vicinity, and the difficulties with regard to the boundary of Judah and Benjamin are not removed by the choice of this site.

The ruin discovered by the Survey Party in 1873, seems in every respect to answer better than any previously proposed to the nine requirements enumerated above.

1st. The three principal letters (ערם) of the name Jearim, or of the later abbreviated form Arim, occur in the proper order in the modern Arabic 'Erma (spelt with the guttural Ain); the site is moreover surrounded and concealed by the thickets of lentisk, oak, hawthorn, and other shrubs, which properly represent the Hebrew word tarim (תרם) from a root signifying to be "tangled" or confused.

2nd. The ruin is due east of the open plain formed by the junction of Wâdy Ismâîn with Wâdy el Mutluk, extending from Beth Shemesh on the south-west, to Eshtaol on the north-east, and to the hill of Zorah on the north-west, representing the ancient Mahaneh Dan.

3rd. It is 2¼ miles south of Chesalon or Kesla.

4th. It is only 4 miles from Beth Shemesh, and an ancient road descends north of the ruin into Wâdy Ismâîn, and thus leads to Beth Shemesh direct along the valley banks.

5th. The site of 'Erma is nevertheless in the mountain proper, and about 1,000 feet higher than that of Beth Shemesh.

6th. The identification of the sites of Ataroth Adar (ed Dârieh), Gibeah (Jebîa), and Kirjath (Kuryet el 'Anab), belonging to Benjamin; of Jethlah (Beit Tul) and Eltekeh (Beit Likia) belonging to Dan, as proposed by the survey party, all agree with the supposition that the west border of Benjamin ran south, from near the Nether Beth-horon, along the crests of the spurs which sink so suddenly from the level of the mountains proper (Har) to the distinct region of the Shephelah. This natural boundary, excluding on the west the Vale of Ajalon, which belonged to Dan, cannot be reconciled with the proposed identifications of Kirjath Jearim at Abu Ghosh or at Sôba, but agrees perfectly with the wording of the biblical description: "The border was drawn thence, and compassed the western side southwards, and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath Baal which is Kirjath Jearim, a city of the children of Judah. This was the west quarter. And the south quarter was from the end of Kirjath Jearim (*i.e.*, the end of the spur on which the city stood), and the border went out on the west (*i.e.*, west side), and went out (eastwards) to the Springs of Nesshtoah" (Josh. xviii, 14–15).

Again, it agrees also with the other description, "And the border compassed from Baalah on the west (or looking west) unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down unto Beth Shemesh" (Josh. xv, 10).

If the reader will compare this paper with Sheet XVII of the Survey, he will at once see the line which appears to be indicated. 'Erma is on the

south or Judah side of the great valley, with a spur (perhaps "the end of Kirjath Jearim") running out northwards. Here, on the north side, are the precipices of a remarkably rocky hill burrowed with hermits' caves, to which the word seir ("rough") might very well apply.

On the same northern ridge, moreover, the name *Saghir*, which is radically the same as seir, may be found marked rather further east. The line running due north along Mount Jearim (which appears from the text to have been on the opposite side of the valley to Kirjath Jearim, as the expression עבר rendered "passed along," means strictly "crossed over," as of a river or valley) arrives at Kesla or Chesalon, and thence follows the important valley called Wâdy Ghurâb, which joins Wâdy Ismâîn and flows past Beth Shemesh. The position of 'Erma is thus naturally placed at the south-west angle of the border of Benjamin.

7th. The common boundary of Judah and Benjamin may be drawn from the new site of Kirjath Jearim in a direction which agrees with various other indications. It would follow the crest of a long spur to the watershed at 'Ain 'Atân (near Solomon's pools), the en Etam which, according to the Talmudists, was the same as Nephtoah (Tal. Bab Yoma, 31, a). Thence it would pass along a watershed northwards by Rachel's Tomb (1 Sam. x, 2) to the Emek Rephaim, which, according to Josephus, extended from Jerusalem towards Bethlehem (7 "Ant.," xii, 4).

Lifta is thus left to be identified with Eleph of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28) rather than with Nephtoah. The identification of Lifta and Nephtoah has always seemed unsatisfactory, not only on account of the difficulties which result in drawing the boundary line, but also because no great spring or group of springs such as seems to be implied by the expression מעין, *M'ain* occurs at the spot. The modern Arabic name is moreover deficient in the guttural of the Hebrew.

8th. The expression Baalah would refer very properly to the situation of 'Erma, overlooking the great valley, while, as will be explained immediately, the traces of what may have been an ancient "high place" (Bamah) still remain.

9th. A central knoll such as would account for the name Gibeah occurs at the ruin of 'Erma.

Although the indications of identity thus appear very strong, they could not be considered as conclusive if the site proved to be insignificant, with modern ruins in an inconspicuous situation. I was therefore anxious to revisit the spot, and was much pleased to find that an evidently ancient and important ruin exists still in this position. Riding down the great gorge which, under various names, runs down from near Gibeon to Beth Shemesh, we gradually ascended the southern slopes in the vicinity of the little ruined village of Deir esh Sheikh. Before us was the notable peaked knoll of Khŭrbet Sammûnieh, a conspicuous feature of the view up the valley from Surăh, and leaving this on the right we followed an ancient road along the slope of the mountain. Here and there remains of side walls are visible, and there can be little doubt that this is a branch of

the Roman road from the vicinity of Bethlehem leading to Beth Shemesh.

In front of us, far beneath, we saw the white bed of the torrent twisting in bold bends between the steep slopes which rise fully 1,000 feet to the hill tops. Both slopes were rocky and rugged, both, but especially that to the south, were clothed with a dense brushwood of lentisk, arbutus, oak, hawthorn, cornel, kharûb, and other shrubs, while in the open glades the thyme, sage, citus, and *bellân* carpetted the ledges with a thick fragrant undergrowth.

A bold spur running northwards from the southern ridge was characterised by a small natural turret or platform of rock, rising from a knoll which stood covered with fallen masonry above a group of olives, beneath which again the thickets clothed the mountain. This knoll represented the ruin of 'Erma, which on closer inspection proved to be a site undoubtedly ancient, and presenting the aspect of an old ruined town. Some of the walls, rudely built in mortar, may belong to the Arab period, but the rude blocks built up against scarps natural or artificial which occur in various directions, resemble the old masonry of the vineyard towers, which date back to a very early period.

On the east is a fine rock-cut wine press; on the south a great cistern covered by a huge hollowed stone, which forms the well-mouth, and which from its size and its weather-beaten appearance, must evidently be very ancient.

Rude caves also occur, and the ground is strewn with fragments of ancient pottery. But the most curious feature of the site is the platform of rock, which has all the appearance of an ancient high-place or central shrine. The area is about 50 feet north and south by 30 feet east and west, the surface, which appears to be artificially levelled, being some 10 feet above the ground outside. The scarping of the sides seems mainly natural, but a foundation has been sunk on three sides, in which rudely squared blocks of stone have been fitted as the base of a wall. On the east this wall consisted of rock to a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a thickness of 7 feet. There is an outer platform, about 10 feet wide, traceable on the south and south-east, and a flight of steps 3 feet wide, each step being 1 foot high and 1 foot broad, leads up to this lower level at the south-east angles. There is a small cave under the platform, and the ruined houses extend along the spur principally north and south of this remarkable rocky tower.

The view from the ruin on the west is also worthy of notice. The valley is seen winding 600 or 700 feet beneath, and the cliffs and caves of the northern ridge form unusually accentuated features. Beyond these the broad corn vale of Sorek (the Mahaneh Dan) is seen extending beneath the rounded hill on which gleams the white dome of Neby Samit, close to Zoreah. The actual site of Beth Shemesh is hidden by the southern ridge, but the valley-bed north of the ruin is visible.

On the hill to the south stand the houses of Deir el Hawa, and to the east the peak of Sammûnieh hides the further course of the valley.

Standing on the rocky tower we saw clearly how well the Mahaneh Dan might be described as "west" of Kirjath Jearim. How naturally the Ark might have been sent from the lowlands of Beth Shemesh to this neighbouring city, so strongly posted in the rude hills of Judah.

In the central platform we might perhaps recognize the high place of Baal, whence the city took its name, or the Gibeah where the Ark was kept; for Kirjath Jearim is not the only sacred city of Palestine in which the altars of Jehovah and of Baal once stood side by side. The instances of Carmel and of Bethel will recur to the reader's mind, with other indications of a similar kind.

Here then at 'Erma we seem to find in a remarkable manner the numerous requisites of the site of Kirjath Jearim fulfilled. The name, the position, the character of the ruin, the view thence, the surrounding thickets which half cover the site, the situation close to the edge of the higher hills and to the mouth of the great gorge, the proximity to Beth Shemesh, and the relative positions of Chesalon and the Mahaneh Dan, all seem to agree in fixing *'Erma* as the true site of the important boundary town where the Ark was kept for twenty years.

Having studied the question carefully on the spot, and having ascertained the importance and antiquity of the site, I cannot but look upon this identification as one of the most valuable which has yet resulted from the Survey of Western Palestine.

VII.

HEBRON, 31*st July*, 1881.

SINCE last report the camp has been moved to Hebron, with a view of clearing up various questions of minor interest in connection with the nomenclature of the vicinity. This is almost the only piece of revision which remains to be done in connection with the Survey west of Jordan. The great change which has occurred in Palestine since Hebron was surveyed, has enabled us to examine even the vicinity of the Haram, without any danger of insults such as I had to endure on the occasion of our previous visit, during the great storm of the spring of 1875, which drove us to take shelter in the Jews' quarter of the town.

The Haram.—As regards the Haram we were able to make one interesting observation. The great stones of the outer wall are, as we have now ascertained, dressed in a precisely similar manner to those of the Jerusalem Haram. The drafts vary from 2 to 4 inches in width, and are about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep. The draft and the margin of the boss for a width of about 2 inches, have been dressed with a toothed instrument—an adze like that now used by native masons, but more carefully employed, —thus giving the peculiar *crisscross* appearance observable in the Jerusalem stones. The rest of the boss has been dressed with a point, as at Jerusalem. The interest of this observation lies in its bearing on the

probable date of the masonry. It would appear that the Hebron Haram is of the same date as that at Jerusalem, which it resembles so closely not only as regards the size, the dressing, and the drafting of the stones, but also in the existence of piers projecting from the wall, of which there are 54 at Hebron, while their former existence at Jerusalem seems to be shown by the discovery I was fortunate enough to make, in 1873, of two such piers still *in situ* at the north-west angle of the Haram wall.

We visited the eastern side of the enclosure, and found ourselves on the housetops almost level with the cornice of the old wall. We here found a mosque, called el Jâwalîyeh, with a large dome. There is also a third entrance to the enclosure on this side, and the old wall appears to be almost as high here as on the west, although the mountain called el Jâ'abireh rises very suddenly behind the Haram on the east. It would appear therefore that the rock beneath the Haram platform, in which the great cave is said to exist, must be a detached knoll : since on all sides there is lower ground, and a retaining wall some 40 feet in height.

As a religious centre Hebron may be said to rival Shechem, and far surpasses Jerusalem. The old name, Kirjath Arba, "City of Four," was said by the Talmudists to refer to the four prophets, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is curious that the Moslems still invoke four prophets in their prayers at Hebron, but instead of Adam they repeat the name of Joseph, whose tomb is shown just outside the Haram at the north-west angle. The tomb of Joseph at Hebron is mentioned also by Josephus. According, however, to the Book of Joshua, the name Kirjath Arba was derived from one of the Anakim (xiv, 15 ; xv, 13).

In addition to the sepulchres of these four patriarchs and their four wives, we find the curious rock-cut tomb west of the town, known to the natives as Kabr Habrûn, "the Grave of Hebron," possibly, however, a corruption of the name Ephron ; by the Jews this is known as the tomb of Othniel, and they show the graves of Jesse and Ruth higher on the same hill, at the mediæval monastery of el Arb'aîn. The tradition of the cave in which Adam and Eve lived for 100 years near Hebron is now unknown, though the probable site—as described by mediæval writers—is the present subterranean spring called 'Ain el Jedîdeh. The site of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, which used to be shown south-west of the town, has now been removed to Neby Yukîn (the Cain of Josh. xv, 57), about 3 miles south-east of Hebron. In addition to these traditions we have the tomb of Noah, west of Hebron ; of Lot, on the east ; of Esau, on the north-east (at Si'air, which must at one time have been identified with Seir), and of Jonah, on the north ; the early Christian tomb of Gad the Seer. The tomb of Abner is shown in Hebron, north-west of the Haram, but it is a modern cenotaph in a Moslem house, and of no particular interest. Abraham's well and Jacob's well are shown also, towards the north, but no well of Isaac appears to exist, and the inhabitants say that his wells are to be found at Beersheba and Tell el Milh.

Another very curious tradition we found during our recent revision work. There is on the north-west of the town—south of the present site

of Abraham's Oak—a hill called Kuff en Neby, "the prophet's palm" (of the hands), and below this is a cave called Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, with a narrow entrance. There is a bench of large stones running round the walls, and this was found covered with the usual rude offerings of pottery, lamps, &c. The cave is a very sacred place, where the prophets Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to appear every Friday. Mr. Black entered it, however, on that day, without reporting any appearance of either of the Patriarchs, but his guide did not enter, and was roundly abused by the inhabitants of the place, who warned him that the local divinities would be sure to take vengeance on him for bringing a Christian into their sanctuary.

This is not the only instance we have heard in which prophets are said to relieve the monotony of residing in one sanctuary by paying occasional visits to other places.

There are several interesting problems in connection with Hebron which may be considered more important than the traditions above noticed. Where was the plain (or oak) of Mamre? where was Kirjath Arba? where Eshcol? where the place in which Abraham "stood before Jehovah"? (Gen. xix, 27). To each of these questions I have now been able to devote some attention.

In respect to Mamre, we may be allowed to lay aside the traditions which have placed Abraham's oak in various sites, ranging from Râmet el Khulîl on the north to Sebta on the north-west, and to the *Drus Ogyges* of Josephus ("Ant.," I, ix, 4), apparently yet nearer to Hebron.

Mamre, we learn from the Bible, was *in* or *by* Hebron (Gen. xiii, 18), and Machpelah was before or in face of Mamre (Gen. xxiii, 17, 19), "the same is Hebron." It seems, therefore, most natural to identify the plain of Mamre with the flat open vale facing Machpelah (or the Haram of Hebron) on the west. In this vale, the threshing-floors and the chief Moslem cemetery of Hebron are now to be found. It does not, however, appear quite clearly whether the original Kirjath Arba was on the western or the eastern hill, as the expressions used are somewhat ambiguous. We examined the western hill carefully, but found no traces of any ancient town, although a Jewish cemetery of considerable antiquity exists there, near the four rock-cut Jewish tombs, of which the largest is called Kabr Habrûn. It might not be unreasonable to identify the Cave of Machpelah with this double tomb, or with the newly-discovered sacred cave above noticed; but the consent of Jewish, Moslem, and Christian evidence in favour of the traditional site of the Haram, is too strong an argument in its favour to be lightly set aside.

As regards Eshcol, which is mentioned in connection with Hebron (Num. xiii, 23), and took its name from one of the Anakim of the same place (Gen. xiv, 13-24), the identification proposed by Vandevelde with 'Ain Keshkaleh appears somewhat doubtful, as the Hebrew *Caph* is supposed to be represented by the Arabic *Quaf* instead of *Kaf*. It is, however, noticeable, that the first K is always dropped in ordinary speaking, and the word is pronounced *Ashkali*. We have not found

any nearer equivalent to Eshcol; and the position of this fine spring among the vineyards, is well adapted for that of the famous "brook," whence the grapes of Hebron were brought down by the spies.

The Biblical passage just quoted includes the curious topographical note, "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." The site of Zoan (Sân) has produced monuments attributed to the 6th Egyptian dynasty (a thousand years before Abraham), but the real building of the city is attributed to Rameses II, the famous conqueror of the Hittites (circa 1365 B.C.) If it be to this building that the Scripture refers, the translation of the name Hebron, "friendship," might be thought to refer to Abraham's friendship with the Hittites, and the name may have superseded the earlier title of Kirjath Arba at the later period of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua. This is one of the few instances in the Holy Land where the *meaning* of an old name is preserved instead of the sound: *el Khulîl*, "the friend," having superseded Hebron, "friendship," in the mouths of the modern inhabitants.

The traditional site of the place where Abraham "stood before Jehovah," and whence he is said to have perceived, after the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, that "the smoke of the country went up as a furnace" (Gen. xix, 28), has been placed at the village of Beni N'aim, three miles east of Hebron, where the Tomb of Lot is now shown.

It has often, however, been suggested by recent travellers that the site should be sought nearer to the Plain of Mamre, and we therefore visited all the highest points immediately east of Hebron, to observe the view towards the Dead Sea. We found that the long spurs which run out above the Desert of Judah are so high as to shut out entirely all the eastern view, except the very highest portion of the Moabite ridge. At Beni Naim, on the other hand, the traveller stands on the very edge of the desert, which is spread out beneath him. The cliffs of Engedi are clearly seen, and the eastern slopes from Kerak to Nebo, although the waters of the Dead Sea and the Valley of the Jordan are hidden by the western precipices.

Beni N'aim is mentioned by St. Jerome and other early Christian authorities, under the name Caphar Bareca, "the village of blessing," and I was much interested to find, on recently visiting the village (where are remains of a basilica, now a mosque), that this name was still known to the Sheikh. Without any prompting he asked me if I knew the old name of the place in the time of the Beni Israil. On my professing ignorance, he said it was Kefr Bareka, and volunteered the information that *Suddûm* was east of it by the Dead Sea—pointing towards Engedi. This name, "village of blessing," is no doubt ancient and genuine, and must have had its origin in the original sanctity of the spot, which is a natural site for a high-place on account of its magnificent view. It is to be noted that the three angels are said to have "looked towards Sodom," and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way (Gen. xviii, 16). The destruction of the cities is said to have taken place after sunrise (Gen. xix, 23), but Abraham "gat up early in the morning to the place

where he stood before the Lord" (verse 27). These details do not seem to require that the place in question should have been very close to Hebron, and it seems quite comprehensible that the site intended should have been the ancient "Village of Blessing," now called Beni N'aim.

It cannot, however, be said that this throws any very clear light on the position of the Cities of the Plain, as the north and south ends of the sea are about equidistant and equally invisible; and we are forced to rely on other arguments in discussing the situation of Sodom, which Josephus, no less than the modern Moslem, believed to lie beneath the waters of the "Vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv, 2).

In the year 1856, Dr. G. Rosen devoted some time to the investigation of the vicinity of Hebron, and made various interesting discoveries. I have now been able to compare his map, embracing an area of about 25 square miles, with our own, and the result is curious, as showing the difficulties of collecting names in Palestine.

Dr. Rosen collected, in all, 116 names within the area of five miles either way, the town of Hebron being near the south-east corner of his map. Out of these, 34 are to be found on our map, and six are merely reduplications of names on the map with slight variations, giving 40 as the total collected by ourselves against 116 collected by Dr. Rosen. By devoting a week to the vicinity of the city we have collected 90 new names, giving 124 in all. Of these, no less than 26 are not noticed by Dr. Rosen, and these include the important sites of Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, Ain Ibrahim, and 'Ain esh Shems. We found 80 names given by Dr. Rosen to be correct, and 12 to be given with very serious errors; while 18 names which he shows on his map or notices in the text were entirely unknown to any of the natives. Out of these 18, five are unimportant, but the rest are for the most part unlike Arabic in form. One deserves special notice, namely, Jebel Elâni, which Dr. Rosen renders "Mount Helena." The name is certainly not now known in Hebron, and is applied by Dr. Rosen to the vicinity of Râmet el Khulîl—the early traditional site of Mamre. It seems therefore to be probably a corruption of the Hebrew Elon ("oak" or "plain"), and may have been obtained from the Jewish inhabitants of the city.

With exception of the sacred cavern of edh Dhukka'ah we have not found any important site omitted from the 1-inch map. Of the 124 names now recorded, only two, namely *Kashkaleh* (Eshkol) and *'Ain Sâra* (en Sirah) are of Biblical interest, but the examination seems to show that the nomenclature of the district is gradually changing, and that names which may have existed in Dr. Rosen's time are now forgotten.

This agrees with some facts as to nomenclature which I have noted in a previous report, and with others which I observed at Hebron. Thus 'Ain Mezrûk (which Dr. Rosen calls Mezrû'a, but which is clearly spelt with a *Quaf*) is known to others as 'Ain Merzûk. The valley east of Hebron is called Wâdy el Besâtîn by some, and el Mesâtîn by others, and I overheard a group of ladies sitting by a tombstone, who were holding a lively dispute as to whether a certain place west of the

town should be called *Zerzîr* or *Shelshîr*. This was unusually interesting, as they were quite unaware of my presence or of my interest in nomenclature.

The more carefully we study the nomenclature, the more do we seem forced to the conclusion that the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, ruins, and springs, and that the *Secondary Nomenclature*, as it may be called, applying to small natural features, is of fleeting and modern character, while the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost.

Aceldama.—While speaking of names I may mention a curious survival of a Latin name near Jerusalem. Aceldama, south of the city (the possible site of Tophet), was known in the 12th century as Carnarium, "The Charnel," being indeed used for that purpose. This name is still known to the inhabitants (according to Mr. P. Berghein) under the corrupted form, *Shernei*, attached to this rock-cut cemetery. Among Christians the place is also sometimes called Hakk ed Dumm—a transliteration of Aceldama, the Aramaic name rendered "field of blood" in English.

Beth Haccerem.—From Hebron we have returned—while awaiting a final decision as to our Firman—to 'Ain Yals in the Valley of Roses, south-west of Jerusalem. We are here close to the curious cairns above Malhah. The object of their construction is not clear, but they may have been used as ancient beacons, and in connection with them we may recall the passage in which the prophet exclaims, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa and set up a sign of fire in Beth Haccerem" (Jer. vi, 1). Christian tradition fixes on the so-called Frank Mountain as representing the site of this beacon; but the name Beth Haccerem ("house of the vineyard") has not been recovered in that direction, while, on the other hand, we find the present 'Ain Kârim ("spring of vineyards") close under the slope of the ridge on which the great cairns in question are now found. This identification would not clash with the very probable supposition that 'Ain Kârim is Beth Car (1 Sam. vii, 11). Beth Haccerem may have been the later form, intermediate between the old Beth Car and the modern 'Ain Kârim, and the name occurs again in the lists of Nehemiah (iii, 14), in connection with that of other places near Jerusalem. So far as I am aware, this identification has not previously been indicated as probable.

The cairns above noted are among the most interesting remains in Western Palestine, and seem more probably to belong to pre-historic times than any monuments as yet discovered. The largest is that nearest 'Ain Kârim, known as Rujm et Târûd, which is 40 feet high and 130 feet in diameter, with a flat top about 40 feet across. It is composed entirely of stones some 4 to 6 inches long, quite unshaped, and the sides, which slope at an angle of about 45°, are covered with a thin layer of earth. The next largest is Rujm 'Afâneh, more than 30 feet high and 96 feet in diameter. The smallest is *Rujm 'Ateiyeh*, some 9 feet high and 40 feet in diameter. The cairns are seven in number, without counting one very

small heap, and another which seems of different character. Rujm et Târûd stands highest on the ridge, the others are irregularly disposed on the spurs, and one is in a hollow at the head of a ravine. They seem too numerous and too irregularly-disposed to have been originally intended for beacons, though the Târûd cairn is well suited for such a purpose. It seems highly probable that they may have been originally seven high-places, consecrated to the seven planetary deities. As is usual with such high-places, they command an extensive view from the Mediterranean on the west to the Moab Mountains on the east; Neby Samwîl (the high-place of Gibeon), Tell 'Asur (Baal Hazor), the Summit of Olivet (the old high-place of Chemosh), Abu Thor (father of the Bull, possibly the old sanctuary of Moloch), and Neby Samat (possibly Samson's Tomb), are all in sight from one or other, as well as Soba, Kustul, Râs Sherifeh, &c. Excavations have been attempted but apparently abandoned before any result of interest was obtained. It is possible that a *Kist* or tomb of some kind may exist under the centre of each cairn.

The only similar monuments are the Jordan Valley Tells, and we are thus led to conjecture whether these latter may not have been originally "high-places" of the Canaanites. They occur generally close to springs, which would agree with such an hypothesis, and in many cases they are still consecrated by a Mukâm standing on the Tell. The idea seems worthy of some consideration.

Jerusalem.—On receipt of Professor Sayce's pamphlet I compared his copy of the Siloam Inscription with ours. I see various differences of importance, especially in the form of some of the letters, and we shall consequently revisit the tunnel, and endeavour to make sure as to the doubtful points.

I have also received from Herr Konrad Schick a copy of an inscribed slab, which was found some time ago lying inside the tomb described in the last *Quarterly Statement*. It measured 3 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 7½ inches, and near the top was an inscription with a cross, the letters being about 2½ inches high, and 6 inches below the top edge of the slab. The text reads—

✝ ΘΗΚΗΔΙΑΦΕΡΟϹ.

This inscription, *θηκη Διαφερους*, has been found in several other instances in early Christian tombs near Jerusalem. The occurrence of the slab cannot, however, be considered conclusive evidence of late date in the tomb, because the arrangement of the *loculi*, as previously explained, is exactly that found in the so-called "Tombs of the Kings," and other monuments near Jerusalem, dating from a period earlier than the Byzantine. The tomb may have been re-used, or the slab may have been originally placed in the neighbouring Church of St. Stephen.

While speaking of inscriptions, I may also note that the inscription from the town-walls contains the name John Ιωαννου in the third and fourth lines, and that there are several misprints in the text (page 197).

I believe the word θεοτοκου may be read in the third line, but it is very indistinct.

About 100 yards south of the tomb above noticed is another sepulchre, which was excavated in 1875, and described in the *Quarterly Statement* (p. 190, and 1876, p. 9). I have now obtained a plan and a detailed account of this tomb from Herr Schick.

In digging for a cistern, the proprietor of the ground hit upon two flat slabs covering shafts which led to the tomb. The depth of rubbish was 10 feet 6 inches, and the tomb was entirely cut in rock. The shaft was about 4 feet deep, and the chamber beneath 6½ feet high and 8½ feet square, with three *loculi* on north, south, and west, and an entrance on the east from the face of the rock. The *loculi* are sunk beneath the level of the tomb floor, and were covered originally with flat slabs. A narrow opening in the north-west angle led into a second chamber about 10 feet square and 9½ feet high, but of trapezoid form.

This second chamber had also three *loculi* and an eastern entrance with six steps. The *loculi* in this case were, however, under arcosolia, and with the bottom of the coffin level with the chamber floor. The entrance now built up is well formed, as in the better specimens of *loculi* tombs. It was in this chamber that the great stone sarcophagus was found which has been conjectured to have held the coffin of the Empress Eudoxia. The sarcophagus measured nearly 8 feet in length and 3 feet 3 inches in height, including the four legs; the width was about 3 feet, and the stone sides were only about 3 inches thick and the bottom 5 inches. It had a cover with rudely-arched cross section, and its size was such that it could evidently not have been brought in through the door. It was found indeed that a shaft, carefully blocked up with masonry, existed in the roof of the chamber, through which it appears to have been lowered. The sarcophagus was broken in trying to raise it through this same shaft.

A third chamber was found to exist beneath the first described, and it was only to be reached by removing slabs which pave the northern *loculus* of the first chamber. Three *loculi* covered with slabs, and placed side by side with their length direction east and west, were here found. They were sunk 9 feet below the floor of the upper chamber, the *loculi* themselves being 2 feet deep.

The tomb thus described is very curious and puzzling. It seems probably to have been enlarged and altered at various periods, and has, it will be observed, two methods of access, namely, from doors in the face of the cliff, and by shafts from above. The use of the *loculus* tomb by the early Christians is proved by the examples at Shefa 'Amr (Sheet V), and other instances; the use of tombs reached by shafts and of *loculi* sunk in the chamber-floor is also observable in Christian tombs. It appears on the whole probable that an early Christian tomb was here found at a later period, and re-used at the time when the great sarcophagus was lowered into it. The arrangement of the *loculi* would seem to show that the sepulchre is later than the northern tomb, which

was described in the last *Quarterly Statement*, and it may perhaps be best ascribed to the early Byzantine period, although the larger chamber may belong to the Jewish times.

Emmaus.—The suggestion that *Ham Motzah* may represent Emmaus is very interesting, and from a philological point of view no objection can be raised to it. The distance does not appear, however, to agree, as Kolonia is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ English miles from Jerusalem, and Beit Mizzeh not much more, which is under 40 furlongs, whereas the distance given by the third Gospel and by Josephus is 50 furlongs. The distance of Khamesa is $8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles (some 70 stadia) in a straight line, and 10 by road.

The fact that a Motzah mentioned in the Talmud was called "Colonia" is in favour of Mr. Birch's view. Kolonia has often before been proposed as the site of Emmaus, by Canon Williams and others. The identification of the Motzah of the Bible with the ruin called *Beit Mizzeh* (not Muzza as spelt in the *Quarterly Statement*) was proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, nine years ago, and I have accepted it in my "Bible Handbook," although there is an objection that the Arabic *Zain* rarely takes the place of the Hebrew *Tzadi*. Mr. Birch does not appear to have been aware of this previous identification of Motzah.

Kolônia was—and still is—a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation (cf. Mishna Yoma and Tal. Jer. Succah, IV, 5); possibly the expression "went into the country" (*εἰς ἀγρον*, Mark xvi, 12) may be taken in the sense of a similar retreat for rest and refreshment from the city, and, in spite of the distance, Mr. Birch's proposal may be considered considerably to strengthen the case in favour of Kolônia.

Muristan.—The eastern half of the great enclosure which once belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem is now German property, and excavations have been carried on in these precincts since 1872.

The Hospital proper and the Church of St. John still lie buried beneath at least 30 feet of rubbish, but the Church of St. Marie la Grande and the monastic establishment south of it have been cleared out, and a complete plan has been made for me by Herr K. Schick. The rock, varying in level from 2,445 to 2,425 feet, and forming the bottom of the Tyropœon Valley, has been traced throughout, and it appears that the mediæval buildings were founded on *débris* varying from 20 to 50 feet in depth. The only structures which rise from the rock are the walls of two magnificent reservoirs, which I visited in 1872, beneath the monastery. Here, at a depth of 50 feet below ground, we were able to walk along the very bed of the Tyropœon, treading on rock for a distance of 100 feet or more.

The buildings, though all attributable to the Crusaders, are of various dates, as shown by the straight joints and the varying finish of the masonry. Even the narrow street to the east (the old *Malcuisiriat*) appears to belong to the 12th century, as mentioned in a recent report.

Part of the old masonry has been destroyed in opening a new street

on the west of the property, but the buildings are shown on the plan just obtained, which I am sending home to Colonel Warren for his volume of the "Memoirs."

VIII.

Mount Nebo.

'Ain Hesban, *25th August*, 1881.

It is with great satisfaction that I pen the first report from beyond Jordan, more especially as some points of interest have already rewarded our exploration of the country round this camp.

I seized the first favourable opportunity which has presented itself since we landed in Palestine, to push across the river. When we took the field in May, the country was in a very excited state, the Druzes were almost in open rebellion : the French seizure of Tunis, the non-settlement of the Greek affair, and the visit of various princes and political agents to Palestine, raised a very general feeling that some sort of crisis was approaching. The great tribes of the Adwân and the Beni Sakhr were at war, and the governor of the Belka had proceeded from Nâblus to es Salt and was travelling over the whole country which we intended first to survey.

It appeared, therefore, prudent to await a more favourable opportunity, while employing the party in the south of Palestine as detailed in preceding reports. We were thus able to watch for the proper moment for commencing our real work, and found that our presence was tolerated by the government so long as we avoided asking for any official assistance or protection.

On the 16th August Lieutenant Mantell and I left our camp at 'Ain Yâlo with six of the native staff, and marched down to Jericho, where we had arranged to meet Sheikh Goblân en Nimr of the Adwân Arabs. My principal object was to secure a satisfactory agreement with the Adwân Arabs before committing the whole of our heavy expedition and of our valuable property beyond the river. On the 17th Goblân appeared with two spearmen and two swordsmen, and we marched over the valley, crossing the river at the Ghoraniyeh ford, and camping in Goblân's own property at Kefrein. The stream of Jordan was easily fordable, being only up to the horses' shoulders, and thus before we had time almost to realise it we crossed the barrier beyond which I had for nearly three months so much longed to penetrate. The heat in the valley was very great, rising to 100° F. in the shade by day, and remaining at about 90° all night. On the 18th we reached the beautiful stream of 'Ain Hesbân, which flows rapidly down the steep mountain sides to the Jordan valley, rising about 2 miles N.W. of the ruins of Heshbon. Here on the 19th we made our arrangements with Sheikh Goblân ; and on the 20th, having arranged these preliminaries, we despatched mules to Jerusalem to bring over the rest of the party.

During the week we have been employed in visiting the country surrounding the camp, arranging the trigonometrical stations, and collecting the names of the principal ruins. It becomes necessary, in consequence of our change of plan, to measure a new base-line between Heshbon and Madeba, on the flat plateau called the Mishor in the Bible. The site for this base has been chosen, and I hope soon to report that it has been measured and the triangulation extended thence for about 100 square miles.

Our operations have been considerably facilitated by the work of preceding explorers, for the Arabs are accustomed to see cairns erected, and lines measured, theodolites set up and aneroids consulted, and we are, moreover, able to make use of the cairns built by Lieut. Steever's party in 1873. On the other hand, the liberality of our predecessors has raised the market so that it is not possible for us—unrecognised by the government, and thus dependent entirely on the Bedawin—to work as cheaply as we were able to do in other Arab districts—notably in the Judæan desert and the Jordan valley. It is, however, very satisfactory to feel some sense of security due to our present agreement, instead of having night and day the anxiety of expecting constant attempts to steal horses or other valuable belongings. The Adwân impress me very favourably, and among all Arabs an agreement may be considered as binding as it would be among men of honour in Europe.

Our first ride was along the western slopes of the great plateau, to visit the famous site of Jebel Neba, supposed to represent the Biblical Nebo or Pisgah, whence Moses surveyed the Land of Promise, and where Balaam is recorded to have been brought by Balak to curse the children of Israel Crossing Wâdy Hesbân we rode south to the beautiful 'Ayûn Mûsa, where two streams issue from the cliffs and flow in a succession of cascades down the mountain sides. This is one of the most picturesque spots I have yet seen in Syria (excepting in Lebanon), and the magnificent water supply of the district we are now exploring—every gorge having its stream even as late as the autumn—contrasts with the scantier and more diffused character of the water supply west of Jordan in a remarkable manner. The northern spring at 'Ayûn Mûsa falls over a cliff 40 or 50 feet high, the southern wells out at the base of a precipice forming a beautiful clear pool flanked by two aged wild figs; and here in the face of the cliff a rude cottage is built up and inhabited by a family of Christians of the Greek Church from Taiyibeh, north of Jerusalem.

From these springs we climbed up 700 feet to the spur which runs out west from the summit of Nebo, and which takes the name Siâghah from a ruin so called on the crest. We examined the site, and found remains of a small Byzantine village with a church, fallen columns, rude capitals of the 5th century style, and vaults supported on round arches, such as are common in early Christian ruins throughout Palestine. The name Siâghah has already been collected by the American Survey party, but I am not aware whether its identity with the Aramaic *Seath* (סיעת) has been pointed out. Seath, "the burial place of Moses," is the paraphrase

for Nebo given by the Targum of Onkelos in Num. xxxii, 3, and the name forms therefore a link in the identification of Nebo with the ridge of Jebel Nebo where *Siâghah* still exists.

So far as I can judge by the map, it is to this ruin that Canon Tristram gives the name *Zi'ara*, and which he identifies with Zoar. No other ruin appears to exist on the way from 'Ayûn Musa to the ridge south of these springs, and with great deference to so experienced an explorer I cannot but think that an error has arisen, due to the great similarity in sound (to an European ear) between the *Re* and the *Ghein* in Arabic. The name Zi'ara was quite unknown to Sheikh Goblân, although he has shown himself thoroughly acquainted with the nomenclature of the district, which has as yet been imperfectly collected. Whoever is responsible for the Arabic spelling of the name *Zi'ara* as given in Dr. Tristram's "Land of Moab," I feel convinced that the form Siâghah given by the American party is the correct one, and it is evident that this form has no connection with the Hebrew Zoar, which in Arabic would appear most probably as *S'areh* or *Saghîr*.

Other objections to Canon Tristram's proposal have been pointed out by various writers, the main difficulty being that Siâghah is situated almost on the level of the great plateau 3,000 feet above the Jordan valley, which appears hardly to agree with the plea put forth by Lot in asking permission to flee to Zoar, that the mountains were too far from him. We shall have, I hope, further opportunities of searching for Zoar near the foot of the mountains, where Tell Shaghûr has been pointed out by the Rev. W. F. Birch as a possible site; but if Zoar should be sought higher up the slopes we may perhaps have an indication in the names Rujm S'aûr and Tal'at S'aûr, which we discovered yesterday north of our present camp.

The hot haze rising from the Jordan valley rendered it impossible to obtain a very accurate idea of the extreme limits of the view commanded by the Siâghah ridge, but the Arabs assured us that in clear weather Kaukab el Hawa, Tabor, and Neby Duhy could be seen on the north-west, and Beni N'aim and Yekîn (the city Cain of the Kenites) on the south-west. Bethlehem, Beit Jâla, Jebel Fureidis, Olivet, Taiyibeh, Tell Asur, Gerizim, Ebal, Neby Belân, Jebel Hazkin, and Gilboa can be seen, and the Jordan valley from Jericho to Kaukab; the Kurn Sartaba, the northern part of the Dead Sea, Jebel Osha above es Salt, Heshbon, and Elealah are also in view. The most striking peculiarity of the scene seems, however, to be that the valley east of the river is plainly seen, Kefrein, Nimrin, Râmeh, and other places close to the foot of the Moab hills being in view. Thus the prospect seems to agree well with the account in the book of Deuteronomy (xxxiv, 1–3), although Dan (if Bâniâs be intended) and the "utmost sea" cannot, I think, be seen, as high mountains appear to intervene. Perhaps we should read "all Judah *towards* the utmost sea." Gilead with its oak woods, the land of Ephraim and Manasseh west of Jordan, Naphthali (in the vicinity of Tabor, which formed, as the survey of Western Palestine shows, the border between that tribe and Issachar), the hills of Judah, and the Negeb, or country south of Hebron, are all seen as

described in the Bible narrative; while no description could be more exact than that of the "plain of Jericho *unto Zoar*," if Zoar is to be sought at the edge of the Ghor es Seisebân, near Kefrein or Râmeh.

The name *Neba* appears to apply to the highest part of the ridge at the very edge of the great plateau. The name Siâghah applies to the spur further west near the ruin of that name; but as is usual with natural features these titles are not very strictly applied, and the whole ridge appears occasionally to be called Dhahret Neba.

A very startling discovery awaited us at Neba, which, while making every deduction which prudence suggests, seems more likely to give a direct connection with the Bible narrative than anything we have yet come across. Immediately north-west of the highest summit, near the ancient road which here descends from the plateau, we found a distinct and well preserved specimen of those rude stone monuments, called by some "cromlechs," and by others (though, according to Max Muller incorrectly) "dolmens." Their existence in this district has already been noticed by Canon Tristram, though, so far as I know, he has not described the specimen in question. It is distinct and well preserved, consisting of one large covering stone supported by two others.

The monument stands on the bare rock, and cannot apparently have been erected over a grave. Large scattered blocks near it appear to have belonged to other monuments of the same kind, and, as in Galilee, they seem more probably to have been ancient altars than anything else—an explanation which has, I believe, been accepted by many archæologists, as best accounting for the purpose for which similar cromlechs were erected in our own country, and in other parts of the world.

There is nothing to give a date to the cromlechs on Nebo, unless it be found in the Bible, where we are informed that Balak erected seven altars —one no doubt to each of the great planetary divinities—at this spot. The position of these altars was evidently not on the extreme summit of the hill, as Balaam went aside to the high place leaving the king standing by his sacrifices. It may, perhaps, be considered a bold suggestion, but there appears nothing extravagant in the idea that one of those ancient altars, so hastily erected to summon the deities of Moab to war against Israel, my yet be standing, unharmed by more than 3,000 winters, on the bleak slopes of Nebo, beneath the summit where, according to the dramatic story of the Book of Numbers, the prophet from Euphrates went up to meet with Jehovah.

That similar monuments are alluded to in the Bible in the opinion of many modern authorities, who recognize in the "gilgal" or "circle" of the book of Joshua, where the twelve stones taken from Jordan were set up, a circular monument not unlike Stonehenge. Such a gilgal still exists east of Dhibân, as recently described by Herr Schick, consisting of stones of great size, and of this as well as of all the most perfect cromlechs, Lieutenant Mantell will now endeavour to obtain photographs. Caution is, however, very necessary, as some of the supposed monuments may turn out to be merely natural features, for the hill-sides here, as in

Western Palestine, are strewn with fallen blocks. In two instances west of Jordan we came across groups of stones, which may have belonged respectively to a cromlech, and to a stone circle; but we were unable to make sure that they were not natural features, and they are consequently not marked on the map.

It is striking to find that the unmistakable cromlechs exist only beyond Jordan and in Upper Galilee, at a distance from the influence of Jewish faith in Jerusalem, and this serves to strengthen the conjecture that the ancient Baal worshippers made use of rude cromlechs, similar to those of the Druids of a later period, for altars.

In connection with this subject the form of the *Makâms*, or places now held sacred by the Arabs, is very interesting.

During the present week we have visited some six or eight of these shrines, consisting of circles some 20 feet in diameter, built up of stones about a foot long. In each case there was a sort of doorway or small cromlech on the west, formed by two stones—generally well hewn and taken from a neighbouring ruin, supporting a third stone or lintel. The jambs were generally about 2 feet high, and the width of the entrance about the same. The remainder of the circle was composed of unhewn blocks about a foot long piled up into a wall some 2 feet in height. The lintel stone of the cromlech or western entrance serves as an altar on which are laid offerings, consisting of blue beads, fragments of pottery or of purple basalt, bits of china, the locks of guns, rags, etc. The ploughs of the Arabs are left inside the charmed circle for protection, and a rude grave of stones occupies the centre, while in three cases sacred trees grow close by. The names of some of these *Mâkams* are modern, others are said to date from "ancient times," but whatever be the age of the existing structures, it is probable that the custom of thus constructing "gilgals" has been derived by the Arabs from their forefathers, from a remote period, while many of the sites (especially that of Neby Bal'ath), may be supposed to preserve ancient centres of Baal worship on the high places of Moab.

The field we have at length entered promises to be one of great interest. It may be said to stand to Western Palestine something in the relation of the highlands to the lowlands of Scotland—a wilder region; inhabited by clans of pastoral habits; distinguished by its gushing springs, its uncultivated moors, and its more ancient archæological remains.

The ruins appear to be more important, though less numerous than west of the river, but with the exception of cromlechs all those we have as yet visited appear to belong to the Byzantine period. The ruin of *Sûmieh* in Wâdy Hesbân has not apparently been previously noted, and its position seems to fit well with that of the Biblical Sibmah of Moab. The great tower of Sâmik may prove to be the Samega of Josephus, and Sûfa may have some connection with the field of Zophin, but without books of reference it is impossible to follow up these indications very closely.

Most of the sites which we have visited are marked on the excellent

maps of Bædeker's Handbook, though the names are often incorrectly spelt.

At Umm el Burak we found a mutilated Greek inscription, which appears to record the erection of a building by a certain Antonius Rufus, and is evidently not older than the Byzantine period. Three other inscriptions from Madeba have been removed to Jerusalem, where I hope to see them in the winter, and no doubt many others as yet uncopied remain to be found, but the Adwân say that they know of no other stone like the Moabite stone anywhere in their country.

It may be interesting here to note the present condition of the more important tribes east of Jordan. The Adwân are at present perhaps the strongest, being allied with one section of the Beni Sakhr. Their country is bounded by Jordan and the Zerka Ma'în, Jebel 'Ajlûn, and Jerash, 'Ammân and the ridge on which stands the ruin of Sâmik, embracing some 1,000 square miles of very good country, including the best part of the Ghor, and the hill slopes and part of the Heshbon plateau.

On the south-east is the country of the Beni Sakhr, or "sons of the rock," including the plateau east of Madeba and Sâmik, as far as the country of the 'Anezeh. The famous Sheikh Fendi el Faiz has died within the last few years, and his sons quarelled among themselves. Ibn el Fiaz and Zutum allied themselves with their old enemies the 'Anezeh, while another section made peace with the Adwân, who during the present year (about the middle of May) slew Zutum in fair fight. Peace has since been made, and blood money paid, but the Beni Sakhr have lost much of their power, and the Hameidi tribes who inhabit the district south of the Zerka M'aîn as far as Kerak are now their own masters. The establishment of a colony of fifty Christian families in the caves of Madeba, under protection of Padre Paulo, the priest appointed by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, has also made a great change in the condition of the country. On the 22nd we paid a visit to this worthy priest in his cave, and I had a long conversation with him in Italian, which served to throw much light on the best method of proceeding. He offered us all the assistance in his power, and will send our letters for us to Jerusalem. His assistance ought to be a great help to us in making arrangements with the Hameidi, who have a wholesome fear of him, as he has caused some of their number to be imprisoned. So far, indeed, as the country south of the Jabbok is concerned, our way is now clear, with the exception of possible interference; and as the district has the reputation of being healthy, we may hope to reap a good harvest before the winter sets in.

From day to day our store of notes increases rapidly. Every evening Sheikh Goblân comes to our tent for a cup of tea, and over this our conversation is often considerably prolonged. The Arabs being a freer and nobler people than the peasantry, are less suspicious of Europeans, and more willing to give information. They are also much less fanatical and, indeed, have very little religion. We have not yet seen Sheikh Goblân at his prayers, and his foresight politically seems to be shown by his having sent his younger sons to the English School in Jeru-

salem. Yet, although in constant communication with travellers, although he has even been on board an English man-of-war, and has acquired a truly civilised love of money, he has not lost the native dignity of the Arab, nor acquired the detestably familiar and impertinent manner of the Dragomans of Western Palestine, whose treatment of travellers seems to become more insufferably contemptuous every year. It is impossible in a short report to give any account of the fund of traditions, notes of customs and manners, of scenery and archæology, which we are now gathering day by day, while the more intelligent among the natives, including our new Protestant scribe, and our old major domo (Habîb el Jemâil), appear to enter thoroughly into the spirit of the work, and fill their note books with traditions and other scraps of information diligently collected from the Arabs.

My present plan is to proceed southwards by Dibon to the Arnon, and thence north-east by Ziza to 'Ammân, visiting the palace of Mashitta, and completing the survey of the mountains, if possible, from the Arnon to the vicinity of es Salt. For however interesting the district round Kerak may be, it is properly speaking no part of the Holy Land, and this, together with the south end of the Dead Sea, the Harrah, and the Negeb, south of Beersheba, might with advantage be undertaken at one time, with an expedition rather differently organised, and by a more rapid method of work. The region to the north, including mount Gilead and the Hauran, appears, however, to present more immediate interest, and we may perhaps hope if all goes well to complete the survey of the Ghor to the Sea of Galilee next spring, and before autumn to extend the work as far as the river Hieromax on the north, and eastwards to Remtheh and the Haj road.

The country south of Heshbon is absolutely bare of trees, and we are therefore liable to suffer from extremes of temperature. On the day of writing this report the thermometer stands at 108° F. in the shade of the tent, the wind from the east being hotter and stronger than I have almost ever experienced it in Palestine.

A few days ago the mists covered the hills in the morning, and the temperature at night was quite chilly. North of our present camp there are, however, hills covered with oaks, and here we shall hope to find refuge before the equinoctial gales commence. The attached sketch-map will serve to show the proposed field of our immediate operations, and I hope that before the January *Quarterly* is issued we may be able to send further interesting particulars of our work in Moab.

Mr. Black and Mr. Armstrong, with the remainder of the expedition, arrived here on August 26th, after three days' march. They encountered a fearful scirocco in the Jordan valley, the thermometer reading 118° F. in the shade by day and over 90° F. by night. Fortunately all members of the party arrived safely, except our trusty watch-dog Barûd ("gunpowder"), who succumbed to the heat near Jericho.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut.* R.E.

THE ANCIENT HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN THE POOL OF SILOAM.

I.

Since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement* much new light has been thrown upon the ancient Hebrew inscription in the tunnel of Siloam. Dr. Guthe—who has succeeded in discovering remains of the old city wall which defended the entrance of the Tyropœon valley—has not only taken a gypsum cast of the inscription, but has also removed the deposit of lime which filled the characters, and has thus made their exact forms visible. He kindly allowed Lieutenants Conder and Mantell to take a squeeze of the inscription after the process of cleaning it had been completed, and Lieutenant Conder has forwarded to the Palestine Exploration Fund two tracings of the squeeze corrected by a careful comparison with the original text. I communicated a revised translation of the inscription based upon these tracings to the *Athenæum* of August 13th, and pointed out at the same time that the recovery of the exact forms of the letters obliges me to bring it down to a later period than the age of Solomon. Unfortunately the application of the acid, by means of which the lime was removed, seems to have injured some of the characters ; at all events several of those which were clearly visible when I copied the text do not appear in the squeeze at all, and Mr. Pilter informs me that "Dr. Guthe's repeated washings" have made others of them more indistinct than they were last February.*

Since the appearance of my letter in the *Athenæum*, I have carefully examined Dr. Guthe's cast at Berlin. An article on the inscription has also been published by Prof. Kautsch, in the last number of the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins," containing statements which it is matter of astonishment should have been permitted to appear in the responsible organ of a scientific Society. In his perhaps not unnatural annoyance at the appropriation by an Englishman of an important inscription which he had regarded as the special property of the German Association, he has forgotten the courtesy due to a sister Society which has been in the field for years before the German Palestine Association was founded, as well as the candour and fairness we might expect from a scholar. Personal controversy and international jealousies are always undesirable, more especially when they involve two societies which are working for a common end, and I should have taken no notice of Dr. Kautsch's remarks were it not for two or three assertions which concern the credit of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Dr. Kautsch seems particularly indignant at my having charged him with being in too great hurry to vindicate the German Palestine Association. But I must again bring the same charge against him. At any rate, in no other way can I explain, for instance, his interpretation of my statement as regards the money sent by the English Palestine Exploration Fund for lowering the water in the pool of Siloam. As the Secretary of

* Lieut. Conder's interesting letter published in this *Statement* makes the fact quite plain.

the Fund is prepared to prove, Dr. Chaplin was authorised to draw £25 for the purpose, that being the sum estimated as necessary to complete the work. Similarly Dr. Kautsch more than once sneers at me for finding a *birâh* or "castle" in the inscription. If he had taken the trouble to read my article, he would have seen that I put a query after the translation, that I regarded it in my notes as more than doubtful, and that I finally withdrew it in the postscript in favour of Dr. Neubauer's conjecture! Dr. Kautsch further discovers that my copy of the inscription added next to nothing to his knowledge of it, and was but a very slight improvement upon the copy he had published in the preceding number of the German Journal. Other Semitic scholars will not be disposed to agree with him, as scarcely any Phœnician letters or Hebrew words can be recognised in his facsimile, and the only complete sentence Dr. Kautsch was able to give was derived from my letters in the *Athenæum* of February.

I need say no more on this distasteful subject, but will turn to the disputed readings as to which Dr. Kautsch and myself still differ. In line 5 he follows Mr. Shapira in reading במאתים . ואלף . Apart, however, from the grammatical difficulty already urged by Dr. Neubauer against Mr. Shapira (*Athenæum*, August 6th, p. 176), neither Lieut. Conder's squeeze nor the Berlin cast show any trace either of ם or ך. On the contrary both have a point in the place where Dr. Kautsch puts his *mêm*. This was very evident on the Berlin cast, as M. Halévy and others agreed with me in seeing. Consequently we must read מאתי, for which I can find no other possible rendering than that which I have already suggested. There is certainly room for a *waw* before אלף in the break in the rock which occurs here, supposing this to have been subsequent to the engraving of the inscription, but I satisfied myself when on the spot that such was not the case, the break having existed before the letters were cut. The actual length of the tunnel, however, precludes Dr. Kautsch's reading, which would make it much longer than it really is.

In line 2, Dr. Kautsch reads אמת instead of אמה, and takes credit to himself for having doubted the philological "monster" אמה. But Lieut. Conder's tracings, as well as the cast, again testify against him. I see no sign of a *tau* in them, whereas they both have what looks like the lower part of a *hê*. At the time I copied the inscription, however, the whole *hê* was distinct, and in a matter of this kind, one, a large part of whose life has been passed in copying inscriptions in comparison with which the inscription of Siloam is as clear as daylight, may be allowed to speak with some confidence. Dr. Kautsch further disputes the *pê* I have read in the following word, and puts a doubtful *nûn* in its place. The *pê*, nevertheless, was perfectly evident last February. Dr. Kautsch will not admit of any הן at the beginning of the inscription, apparently because it was copied by Mr. Pilter. I can assure him, however, that at least two letters exist here, though I was not able to make out their exact forms myself. His ים for יום "day" is ingenious, but not probable.

The translation which follows I have already given in the *Athenæum* of August 13th (p. 208) before the appearance of Dr. Kautsch's article. It has been obtained by a comparison of Lieut. Conder's squeezes with my own copy of the inscription.

1 הן . (ה)נקבה : וזה . היה . דבר : הנקבה . בעוד
(החצ)ב(ם . ה)עלו

2 הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמה . להפ.....(?)
מא . קל . אש ק

3 רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . ז(?)דה . בצר . מימן . קמ(ו).....(?)א .
הכו . בים . ה

4 נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . אל .
(ג)רזן . וילכו

5 המים . מון . המצ . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . ו...

6 ת . אמה . היה . גבה . בצר . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

(1) "Behold the excavation! Now this is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up

(2) the pick, each towards the other; and while there were yet three cubits to be broken through . . . the voice of the one called

(3) to his neighbour, for there was an excess (?) in the rock on the right. They rose up . . . . they struck on the west of the

(4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick. And there flowed

(5) the waters from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits; and (three-fourths ?)

(6) of a cubic was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation here."

The word זדה in line 3 seems to be connected with זד, זוד, זדון, the radical meaning of which is rather "excess" than "boiling over." Lieut. Conder's tracings, however, give זבה instead of זדה, which may be related to זוב "to flow." We must notice the spelling הית for היתה. The defective מימן for מימין is parallel to אש for איש; Dr. Kautsch's ים for יום is far from likely, and no point occurs after the *mêm*. In line 2, להפ must be a hiphil infinitive, perhaps from פיץ, though the meaning of the latter does not suit the context very well.

The squeeze shows that my copy was substantially correct, except in line 5, where I read מוציא instead of מוצא, and in line 6. Here, however, I find that my first copy gave the right reading, which I corrected erroneously in my second and third.

But as regards the *forms* of the letters, the removal of the line proves

that I had gone far astray. My copy represents them as they appeared when blurred and hidden by the deposit which had formed over them, and, as is now clear, had wholly metamorphosed their true shapes. It now possesses only an historic interest, as showing faithfully what the inscription looked like when it was first discovered. As I stated in the *Athenæum* (August 13th), it is no longer possible to assign it to so early a date as the age of Solomon. The looped *zayin* disappears, though the origin of the loop formed by the line is evident. The letter has two small tags at the right hand ends of its horizontal lines ( ), which, by the way, are omitted in the facsimile published by Dr. Kautsch, and the calcareous deposit overflowed from the upper of these into the lower.

But while I must surrender the Solomonic date of the inscription, I find myself unable to accept Dr. Isaac Taylor's counter-hypothesis (see, however, his letter in the *Athenæum* of September 24th). We all agree that the age of an inscription must be determined by that of the most recent forms of the characters which it contains. But the question is what this age precisely is. Dr. Taylor's arguments, if strictly pressed, would make the inscription as late as the post-exilic period. We must remember, however, that the age of the shekels to which he appeals is doubtful, and furthermore that they are the product of an antiquarian revival which endeavoured to imitate faithfully an older style of writing. It is safer, therefore, to compare the inscribed seals. Nor can I admit that the three-barred *kheth* is later than the two-barred one, although the latter is found on the Moabite Stone. But I believe that the inscriptions of Mesha and of Siloam represent two different forms of the Phœnician alphabet, the one being north Canaanite, and the other south Canaanite. A comparison of the characters of the Siloam inscription, as they now lie before us, with the alphabets given by Euting, proves that the inscription must fall between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. This being so, I see no reason for rejecting Dr. Neubauer's ingenious suggestion mentioned in my previous article (*Quarterly Statement* for July, p. 153), which would refer the excavation of the tunnel to the reign of Ahaz. The force of my argument from the fact that, while the Pool of Siloam is given specific names in the book of Nehemiah, it is called simply "the pool" in the Siloam inscription, remains undiminished.

A. H. Sayce.

II.

'Ain Karim, *July 16th*, 1881.

On the 15th instant, Lieutenant Mantell and I again spent three hours in the narrow passage leading to the Pool of Siloam, endeavouring to render more certain the decipherment of the interesting text which has lately been made so much more legible by the use of hydrochloric acid in remov-

ing the lime deposit from the rock. We are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Guthe for exceptional facilities, and I hope that our joint production may be of some value in the determination of the true translation.

Our method was to produce a *facsimile* founded on a careful squeeze, and distinguishing the sculptured strokes from natural cracks or dents, by pencilling the former on the squeeze itself. We then compared the whole again with the text, reading letter by letter, and throwing the light on each letter in turn from every side. I have had no opportunity of comparing the result with Dr. Guthe's copy ; and Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the subject has not reached me. There may, however, be advantages in thus forming an entirely independent copy, and I should be glad to have my attention directed to any points in our tracing (of which I enclose two copies) which may appear doubtful or incorrect. If Professor Sayce would kindly indicate any portions of the inscription which require re-examination, we will take a further opportunity of visiting the spot. Meantime, although the plaster cast has been ordered, and will be sent to England as soon as possible, it seems to me that in many instances it will be only possible to distinguish intentional and natural lines and strokes by examination of the text itself.

The following remarks occurred to me in the course of our work, and are here noted as being possibly of some use to those who have not seen the inscription.

The text consists of six lines, occupying a space of 23 inches by 7½ inches, on the lower half of the tablet. The letters are from half-an-inch to three-quarters of an inch in height. The first and second lines are injured on the right, and a large deep crack extends all down the tablet near the left hand extremity, breaking the three upper lines, and partly mutilating the fourth. The first line is illegible to the left of this fissure, the surface being rough and covered with cracks. The fifth line does not extend the whole length of the longer lines, occupying only about 16 inches.

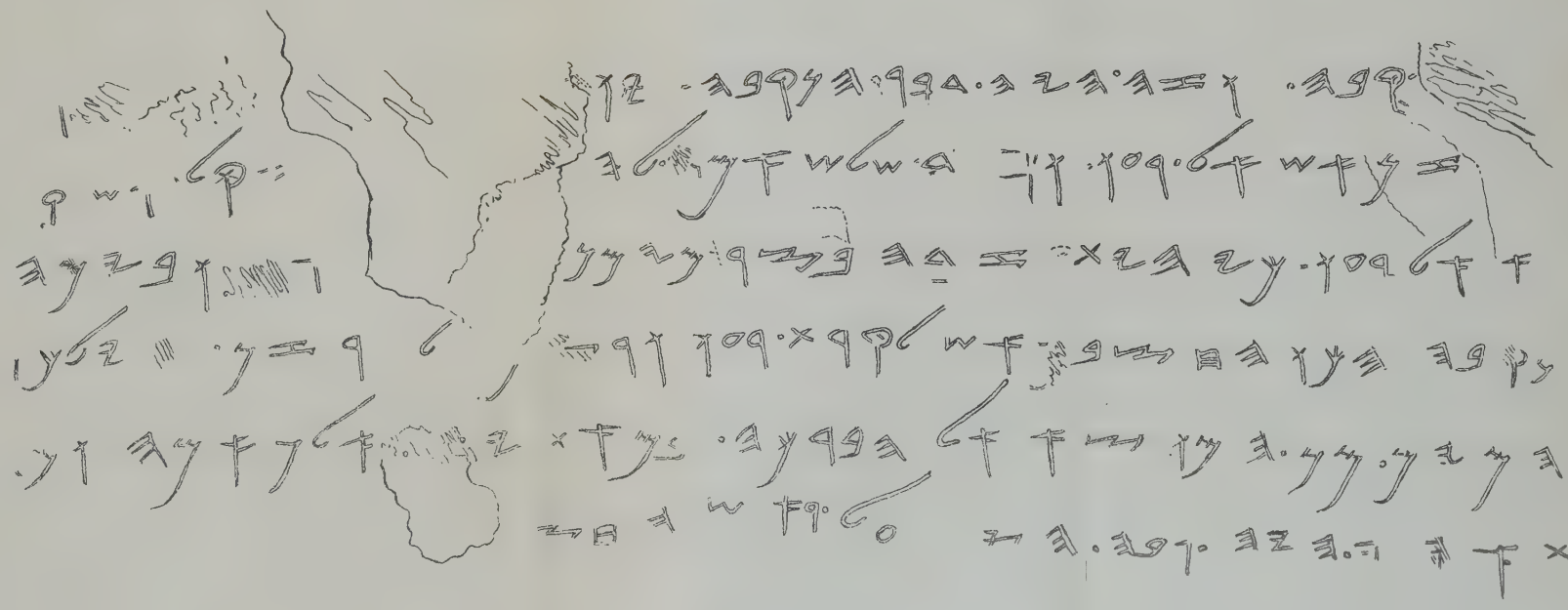
There appear to have been originally about 180 letters, of which 130 are now more or less clearly recoverable. The text is thus not quite as closely written as the famous Marseilles tablet. The letters are carefully formed, and some of the minor peculiarities, such as the small hooks at the right hand extremities of the two horizontal strokes of the *Zain*, are repeated in each repetition of the letter. The size of each letter is also much the same on each repetition ; the vertical lines are broad, but not deep, the horizontal strokes are narrow, but very sharply cut. The *facsimile* first published gives quite a false impression of the regularity and finish of the execution of the inscription.

All the letters of the Aramaic alphabet are represented with exception apparently of the *Teth* and the *Samech*, and perhaps also of the *Gimel*. The *Aleph* seems to approach much more closely to the form found on the early Jewish coins than to that on the Moabite Stone. The *Vau* also appears to have three short strokes as on the coins. The peculiar form of the *Zain* is very carefully reproduced on each repetition. The *Cheth*, which occurs at least twice, seems to have a form intermediate between that on

SILOAM INSCRIPTION,

TRACING FROM A SQUEEZE, TAKEN 15TH JULY, 1881,

BY LIEUTS. CONDER AND MANTELL, R.E.



HARRISON & SONS LITH. ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.

the coins and that on the Moabite Stone. The *Mem* and the *Nun* are drawn with square strokes, and long tails. The *Ain* has invariably a pointed ending towards the right. The form of the *Tzadi* is very peculiar, and quite different to that on the Moabite Stone, as is also apparently the shape of the *Koph*.

The letters are quite sufficiently well formed to make these differences apparent, and they may, I should suppose, serve as indications of the date of the text.

I enclose what I hope may be found to be the correct transliteration of the letters most clearly recoverable, into square Hebrew forms. It seemed very doubtful whether any letter ever preceded the *Nun* in the first word נקבה. In the second line the reading אמה seems probably correct, on account of the space between this word and the next, but the last letter is unfortunately partly destroyed. The word following seems quite clearly to read לה. The last words of the third line appeared to us to read ביומה and not בירה. The top of the letter is, however, damaged, so that it was difficult to determine between מ and נ, though the tail was too distinct to allow of its being easily read as ר.

The fifth line is the most perfect and most easily decipherable of the whole text, but we were unable to determine the existence of a *Yod*, shown in Professor Sayce's first published letter, the word apparently reading מוצא as in the Bible (2 Chron. xxxii, 30). The *Tau* in the word במאתי is not easily seen, though traces appear to exist. In the sixth line the two last letters of the first word, which has, I believe, been read תאחה, are also very indistinct. We have recovered twenty letters in this line. I am not as yet aware whether any of these form additions to those copied by Professor Sayce.

A point on which a learned opinion seems necessary is the form of the *Vau* and the *Caph*. The word which occurs three times in lines Nos. 2, 3, 4 respectively, has for its last letter a form somewhat resembling the *Vau* of the coins. In the word ברכה occurring in the fifth line, the form of the *Caph* is different from that above noticed, as the letter has a tail below the line. The same form occurs twice in the fourth line, and seems closely to approach the *Caph* of the Moabite Stone. The straighter form which I have supposed to be the *Vau* occurs eleven times at least in the text, and in one case (מוצא in the fifth line) is rendered *Vau* by Professor Sayce, while the form which I have taken to be *Caph* occurs only four times, and is so rendered by Professor Sayce in the word ולכן in the fourth line. If the distinction is a correct one, the word thrice occurring should read רעו. The difference was, however, probably not visible before the inscription had been cleaned. The occurrence of the *Vau* would naturally be more frequent than that of *Caph*, and the letters thus noticed are in most instances very clearly cut.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut.* R.E.

III.

5th August, 1881.

HAVING received on 1st instant, the *Quarterly Statement*, containing Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the inscription, and the notes of Dr. Isaac Taylor on the same, we revisited on the 4th instant the rock-cut channel, and again spent three hours in examining the text.

The result is that after several independent readings, we do not feel able to make any alteration in the copy which I sent home on the 19th ult., with the exception of one doubtful letter in the first line. It seems to us that this copy may be taken as representing all the letters clearly traceable in the present condition of the inscription; and although, when guided by Professor Sayce's copy, we were able in some cases to distinguish traces of other letters, we were not always able to make these agree entirely with the forms which he has given.

We are able only to add one letter to those given by Professor Sayce, namely a *Koph*, which appears pretty distinctly at the end of the second line. We still are obliged to omit 12 letters which are no longer traceable (to our eyes), and our copy differs in 18 letters from that of Professor Sayce, notably in two passages which occur in the third and the sixth lines. It must be remembered that I speak of the present condition of the text, as we had no opportunity of examining it very minutely before it was cleaned with acid. Dr. Guthe's copy, taken before this operation was performed, may however show letters not now traceable, although, as far as we can judge, the inscription has not been in any way damaged by the removal of the lime deposit.

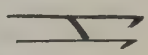
In our recent visit we were obliged to stand each for an hour and a-half knee-deep in water; and we could not but admire the accuracy of Professor Sayce's results, obtained under conditions even more unfavourable than those of our last visit. The published copy is however not a *facsimile*, the spaces between the letters not being always the same as those given by the squeeze, and the form of many of the characters not being exactly that given by the text. The inscription occupies a space 26 inches long by 8 inches in height, the top being 14 inches from the upper surface of the tablet, and the bottom of the sixth line 5 inches above the lower border of the tablet, which is 27 inches square.

As regards the forms of the letters, I may add a few notes to those in my former communication.

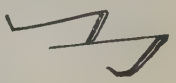
The *Aleph* is written throughout in an uniform manner, and the shape does not appear to us to be exactly that given by Professor Sayce, which resembles the *Aleph* of the Moabite Stone, but rather the form of an inverted F with a spur—such as is found on Jewish coins.

The *Vau* appears also to be written throughout with a head formed by three strokes. We are unable to find a single instance in which the head of the letter remains, and in which only two strokes occur. In all the best preserved specimens the central stroke has at the end a cross stroke or *shoe*, which makes it specially conspicuous.

The *Zain*—as now seen very clearly, has also an uniform character, and is not formed as shown on Professor Sayce's copy, no curved line occurring to join the horizontal bars. The hooks at the right hand end of these latter I have already noticed in a former letter.



The *Tzadi* also does not seem to be formed as shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The letter is only found five times on the inscription, and in three cases it is imperfect. In the two perfect instances there is no loop joining the bars, but the latter resembles a W inverted with *shoes*.



These peculiarities have no doubt become clearer since the inscription was cleaned. The length of the stroke of the *Lamed*, and its inclined position, are also details which seem worthy of notice.

The form of the *Mem* is also an important consideration. I am not sure whether my copy sent home does not show the second *Mem* of the fifth line to have the zigzag form. I have however now carefully inspected this letter, which is well cut, and feel convinced that there is not a single instance of the zigzag form on the inscription. The cross strokes are very sharply cut, and although at a first glance the letters seem to have a W form for the head, yet when minutely examined they all prove to be cut with a bar and cross strokes. The *Nun* is also formed in a similar manner throughout.

We may now proceed to consider the differences which appear in the copy made from a squeeze by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, as compared with Professor Sayce's copy. The results, which are given below, are derived from four independent readings of the inscription, two taken by me, and two by Lieutenant Mantell. The position of the letters in our tracing recently sent home is obtained by means of the squeeze, and this serves in one or two instances to check the readings, and to determine the number of letters missing with tolerable certitude.

First Line.—At the commencement of the inscription the original surface of the rock is still preserved, though somewhat cracked. The first *Nun* is very imperfect, and we were quite unable to trace any distinct letters preceding it, though indications of what may have been a *He* might be conjectured to exist.

It is very doubtful whether one or two dots follow the word נקבה.

There are so many small holes in the stone that the dots between the words are in a great many cases very doubtful.

The *Daleth* in the word דבר is not very clear, but its form and size resemble those of the *Daleth* immediately beneath it in the second line, the horizontal stroke being very slightly curved.

The reading בעוד given by Professor Sayce appears to us to be still legible, but the third letter only is distinct, being a large and well formed *Vau*. The first and fourth letters seem to be unusually small.

The *Vau* at the end of the line has no head, and never apparently had one, the rock being quite smooth. We thought that we could distinguish traces of *Lamed* and *Ain* preceding it, as read by Professor Sayce, but their existence seems extremely problematical. There is room for two such letters, but to the right of them is a hole, and we were unable to trace the *Beth* shown by Professor Sayce immediately to the left of the great crack.

With these exceptions, the reading of the text in this line is remarkably clear, and (save as to the form of the letters) is the same as given by Professor Sayce. Our copy, however, supports Mr. Pilter's reading נקבה, and after carefully re-examining the first letter of this word, we felt sure that it could never have been a *Mem*.

Second Line.—The traces of a *He* will be found in our copy at the beginning of this line, and after minute examination, we were able to find the remains of a *Gimel* following it, and to distinguish a *Resh*, well formed, but much worn, to the left—thus confirming the reading הגרזן. The last two letters, and the dot are quite clear.

After the word רעו, there is a dot and a very clear *Vau*. Between this and the *Daleth* there is room for two large or for three smaller letters—as shown by Professor Sayce. The letters which he shows we were however unable to recognise, and the first two seemed to us most to approach בע, though so indistinct and confused by cracks as to be very doubtful. There would also seem to be the tail of a letter *Mem*, *Nun*, *Caph*, or *Pe* to the left of those two.

The *He* in the word *Amah* is, as I have previously noted, almost indistinguishable, from a crack in the rock. The next two letters are clear, but beyond these, where Professor Sayce shows פה, we are only able to trace what looks like the head of a *Vau*, and the loop of either a *Beth* or a *Resh* following it.

Beyond the great crack in this line, there is a *Koph* as shown by Professor Sayce, and to the right of this three strokes which seem most probably to have belonged to an *Aleph*. The *Lamed* after the *Koph* seems to us quite clear, as well as the *Shin* and the second *Koph* with a dot after it (this last letter is not given by Professor Sayce).

In all the distinct and several of the doubtful letters of this line, we are therefore able to confirm the readings of Professor Sayce.

Third Line.—The first *Aleph* should be preceded by a *Beth*, but there is now a small deep hole in the rock where this letter (marked as doubtful by Professor Sayce) would have occurred, and no trace of it is visible.

After the distinct word רעו we make a great difference from previous copies. It is to be hoped that our reading may render the translation of this puzzling passage easier. The words, according to us, should stand רעו . כי . היתי : זדה. The *Caph* and the *Yod* seem very clear. The double stop after the *Tau* is not however very certain. Lieutenant Mantell was inclined to think that an *Ain* might have existed here, which Professor Sayce also shows with a query. The *Daleth* in the last word of the group is also not quite certain. There is a horizontal stroke beneath it, but the rock is smooth and well preserved, and no trace of a vertical stroke exists. Nor would the shape of the *Beth* thus formed, if it existed, be the same as that of other *Beths* in the inscription.

Professor Sayce has divided the letters מימנ further on in this line into two words by a dot, but we were unable to make certain of this division. The two letters which follow are much defaced, and the rock is covered with a network of small cracks in this part, which would make the cast almost entirely unintelligible. I was inclined to think that I could trace the *Koph* shown by Professor Sayce, and that it may have been followed by a *Beth*. Lieutenant Mantell would however give a *Resh* with part of the tail of another letter.

It will be for others to decide which reading suits the text best, and whether the words מים . נקבה can have originally been written here.

Beyond the great crack on the left, we read with Mr. Pilter ובימה; and after a very close examination we could clearly determine that the last letter but one is not a *Nun*, but certainly a *Mem*, with the horizontal stroke and cross-bars. The only letter which we are unable to distinguish to the right of this word looks like the remains of an *Aleph*. There may have been a *Lamed* between this and the *Vau*, but we regard both these letters as highly problematical. There is room for a third letter before the *Vau*.

Fourth Line.—The second word is read חבו by Professor Sayce; but the first letter of the word seems to us clearly to be a *He* and not a *Cheth*. There is a deep crack in the stone at this point, which, before the deposit was removed, would have given the left stroke of the *Cheth*, but as now seen, it appears to be clearly a natural and not a sculptured line. The surface of the stone being uninjured, we could ascertain that there had never been any "horn" on the left at the end of the bars of the *He*.

By the aid of the copy we are able to distinguish the *Ain* preceding the *Lamed* in the sentence גרזן . על . גרזן. The first *Zain* is however imperfect, and the second *Gimel* cannot be distinguished. The *Vau* succeeding these words is fairly clear, but only the middle stroke of the head can be seen, with its characteristic *shoe* on the end of the stroke. The final *Vau* at the end of the line we could not see clearly, but a trace of its vertical stroke may perhaps be recognised.

Fifth Line.—The second *Mem* has the same form as all the others in the text. We are quite unable to find any remains of the *Yod* given by Professor Sayce in מוצא, nor does there seem to be any space for it

between the *Tzadi* and the *Aleph*. The *Tau* in במאתי seems to us to be very doubtful, though strokes exist which may have belonged to such a letter. It should be noted that between this word and the next there is more space than is shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The dot is at some distance from the *Yod*, but even then there is fully room for another letter before the *Aleph*. The surface of the rock is however injured in this place. The last two letters of this line appear to us to read רנ, though the last may be a *Mem*, as it is very imperfect and indistinct.

Sixth Line.—The third letter read *Cheth* by Professor Sayce is very indistinct, and may have been a *He*. The letters היה appear to us to be now quite distinct, and unmistakable, although Professor Sayce reads quite differently. The letters גבה also seem to us to be distinct, and the letter which follows seems more probably a *He* than a *Cheth*. The *Tzadi* which follows is imperfect, and the *Resh* or *Beth* next in order cannot be read as now seen. The final letter of the inscription should apparently be *Beth*, but the surface of the rock is here so damaged as to make it impossible to distinguish any of the three letters which Professor Sayce places after the last *Tzadi*, for there is a hole in the stone at this point.

Such is a summary of our observations, which have been pursued entirely without consideration of anything beyond the present appearance of the text. The main results which seem likely to be of some service are those which concern the forms of the letters, and the difficult readings of the third and sixth lines.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut.* R.E.

IV.

I HAVE been favoured with a tracing of the squeeze of the Siloam inscription. In the last *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund I argued, in reply to Professor Sayce, that the Solomonic age of the inscription was on palæographic grounds quite untenable, and that it must be placed at least two centuries and a half later. In the *Athenæum* of August 13th, Professor Sayce surrenders his former opinion, and asks whether I still venture to uphold my own. In reply to this challenge I am bound to acknowledge that a date so early as the middle of the eighth century can no longer be maintained.

I argued for the earlier date on the ground that Professor Sayce's copy exhibited transitional forms of certain letters, notably of *aleph* and *mim*. In some instances the Moabite or ninth century forms were used, in others the sixth century or Eshmunazar forms. In the tracing all these earlier forms vanish. Both *aleph* and *mim* appear as we find them in the seventh century Phœnician inscription at Abu Simbel, while other letters, notably *koph* and *tsade*, approximate to sixth century forms. I cannot, therefore, now maintain that the inscription is earlier than the seventh century, nor do I think it can be later than the sixth. The closing years of the

Jewish monarchy might suit very well all the conditions of the problem, and it does not seem improbable that the conduit may have been constructed in preparation for one or other of the closing sieges, or actually during the last siege, after the aqueduct from Gihon had been cut. This would give 587 B.C. as the date of the inscription. See, however, Ecclesiasticus xlviii, 17; and 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

V.

THE discovery of this inscription has excited no more attention and critical curiosity than it deserves. It speaks to us in the primitive Hebrew, the language of the past, and narrates a matter of the highest topographical interest, in the simplest forms of ancient orthography then in use. It will be our duty to interpret these forms, with all their defects, so as to have a correct conception of that little morsel of topographical history which the engraver of this inscription intended posterity should know and place on record. The following is the inscription :—

TRANSLATION.

Behold the boring (tunnel). This is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators lifted the pick, each toward his neighbour, and while there were 3 cubits to the mouth (height of tunnel at the spot here described), the excavators came together (יחדך = *yichdo*, coming together) each unto his neighbour. They then measured (מדה) and discovered (יערה = *ya-arah*, discovered, became obvious) in the rock, that there was a *clearly-defined* (מן = *manah* in its ancient uncontracted form, meaning to point out, clearly define, and count out by reckoning up the measurements) *crookedness* (קמטן = *kumetoo*, wrinkled, crooked, corrugated, not going straight) in the direction (בירה = *barah*, direction, leading; *beth* is a preposition in this word) of the boring (*nakavah*). The excavators then eagerly worked, and each *met* (likrath) his neighbour, pick to pick. The waters then advanced (*wy-yalachoo*) and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1000 cubits from the *described boundary* (תאיה = *taah*, boundary pointed out and described) of the tunnel they excavated at the head of the excavation here.

I. INFERENCE.—*Two branches.*

We infer, as a radical conclusion, that two gangs of men were employed in the excavation, and that they started from two opposite ends of the tunnel, and met somewhere in the length. Now the question we are about to raise is one that has never yet been assumed, nor has it ever been suggested in any publications on the subject. It has always been

assumed that the entire aqueduct from Virgin's Fount to the Pool of Siloam was one continuous construction by two gangs of men. We hold that the two gangs of men were not employed on the whole, but only on the Siloam branch which runs south. And that the two gangs formed one whilst constructing the branch running west from the Fountain. We hold the theory that the Siloam branch alone is the excavation referred to in this inscription, and that the upper or head branch of the Fountain running west is not included in this narrative. A careful reading of its clauses, and the general context also, confirm this theory. The last clause especially cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Then, again, the word תאחה, in line 6, is not applied to the *lower end* of the tunnel, or to the Siloam Pool, it is applied to the other end of the tunnel where the excavators *began;* and this end the narrative calls the *raish,* ראש = "*head* of the excavation *here.*" The "head" of the Siloam branch is therefore meant by this word. Certainly the "lower end" must mean the tail end, and not the head of a tunnel or stream. If, therefore, the word be admitted, it must refer to the *head* of the Siloam branch of the aqueduct. This much then is certain without further discussion. In fact, Professor Sayce has himself noticed this inherent difficulty. He says: "I must confess that the meaning of 'lower part' would be more suitable to the Siloam end of the tunnel than to the other, to which it refers."

Now a careful reading of the last clause will prove, beyond a doubt, that the double gangs of excavators worked together first as one body, and as one gang, in excavating jointly the Virgin's Fount first, giving it a wider, more open, and spacial appearance as an entrance. And this was the *first* excavation of these men, and was regarded as the *head* of the tunnel. This was carried directly west about 231 feet, with a roof of 6 feet, roughly estimated by Captain Warren. This was the first excavation to which the narrator refers, when he says:

"The waters advanced and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1,000 cubits from the boundary of the tunnel *they excavated at the head* of the excavation here."

The inference is fairly drawn, that a tunnel had previously been made at the *head or beginning* of the Siloam branch, by these same men; and that this tunnel had a given limit or boundary. Now this *first* tunnel could be none other than the Virgin's Fount branch, which runs almost due west 231 feet, and 6 feet high. And the *boundary* referred to would be this limit of 231 feet. The Siloam branch must, therefore, begin from this limit, and the 1,000 cubits must be counted from this boundary of the first tunnel. After cutting this first branch at the *head* of the excavation in Siloam, the gang of men divided themselves into two independent gangs for the greater convenience of carrying out the *débris* of the cutting. It being intended that the two gangs should meet at some intermediate point. Thus we have fairly established the fact, that the last clause of this inscription conclusively proves that the tunnel referred to is that Siloam branch of the aqueduct on which the two gangs of men only were

thus engaged to meet each other ; the inscription cannot refer to any other but the tunnel made by these men meeting together.

II. Inference.—*The Cubit.*

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or *ammah*. The tunnel is 1,708 feet in length, according to Captain Warren. If this be the length of 1,000 cubits intended by the narrator, then the cubit will be equal to 20·496 inches. But the place where these two gangs of men *met* was 3 cubits high = 5·124 feet, and there is no such place in the whole length of the tunnel, except at the long vault in the Virgin's Fount branch. Hence the cubit cannot be 20·496 inches.

Then, again, we have seen that the two gangs met in the Siloam branch somewhere. The heights have been given by Captain Warren. For the first 350 feet the height sloped down from 16 feet at the entrance to 4 feet 4 inches, width 2 feet. At 450 feet the height fell to 3 feet 9 inches. At 600 feet the height was 2 feet 6 inches. At 850 feet it was only 1 foot 10 inches, and at 900 feet it was reduced to 1 foot 4 inches high. Just at this point of the narrowest cutting the height suddenly rises to 4 feet 6 inches, which height continues for a length of 150 feet, when at a distance of 1,050 feet, the height is again reduced to 2 feet 6 inches, and at 1,100 feet it was again only 1 foot 10 inches. At 1,150 feet the height averaged 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches ; at 1,450 feet the Siloam branch begins to turn towards the Virgin's Fount branch ; and at 1,477 to 1,480 feet, the height suddenly rises in the open vault of the Fount branch to 6 feet.

Thus it will be seen the highest point in this Siloam branch is a space of 150 feet in length, where it averages 4 feet 6 inches. Now, if there be any likely spot where the two gangs met it will be at this high cutting. At 850 to 900 feet the height sinks down from 1 foot 10 inches to 1 foot 4 inches, then suddenly rises into a cutting of 4 feet 6 inches. In like manner at the other end of this same Siloam branch, from this central space of 150 feet with a height of 4 feet 6 inches, the other end also tapers off and lowers down to 1 foot 10 inches. Now, does it not seem reasonable to suppose that when the men got to a point where they expected to meet each other, they would widen their tunnel in order that the chances of meeting each other would be greater? And that where we find this space of enlargement at the middle of an aqueduct, there is the spot where they endeavoured to meet? We think it reasonable to make this inference. Professionally, as a civil engineer, we think this a very reasonable supposition, especially where the engineers were not supposed to be equal to the sappers and miners of modern times.

Let us summarize a little. If the Virgin's Fount branch be almost due west for about 230 feet, to the end of the passage with 6 feet in height, the Siloam branch will be 1,708−230 = 1,478 feet in length. But in this case the 1,000 cubits will be = 1,478 feet, or 1·478 feet to a cubit, which is equal to 17·736 inches per cubit. Let us test this value also. The

narrator of the inscription says the gangs were working, when they met, with a tunnel equal to 3 cubits; but the greatest height of this Siloam branch is near the middle, and equal to 4 feet 6 inches = 18 inches to a cubit.

Now, in an article on the "Sacred Cubit—Test Cases," October, 1879, *Quarterly Statement*, we then suggested that the ancient cubit was 17·70 inches, or $\sqrt{3}\cdot14159\times10 = 17\cdot7245$; or the full cubit rod of what Ezekiel calls "a cubit *and a handbreadth*" (ch. x. 5), consisting of 7 handbreadths = 20·6786 inches. And it would now appear that this Siloam branch of 1,000 cubits was = 1477 feet in length, or 17·724 inches per cubit; whilst the height of the place of meeting of the excavators was 4 feet 6 inches = 3 cubits of this length, as the narrator declares in the inscription. Hence the cubit used by the engineer and workmen was 17·724 inches in length. When the prophet Ezekiel said:

> "A cubit is a cubit *and a handbreadth*."—Ezek. xliii, 13.
> "In his hand a measuring reed of 6 cubits, by the cubit *and a handbreadth*."—Ezek. xl, 5.

The *extra handbreadth* was simply a handle by which to hold the cubit rod whilst measuring: the cubit was 6 handbreadths only, but the cubit-rod was 7 hairbreadths. Hence almost every cubit rod found has measured 20·6786 inches with its *extra* handbreadths, and this simple fact has led to the conception that a cubit was 7 handbreadths = 20·6786 inches. The Egyptian cubit-rods were constructed similarly; they were a cubit *and a handbreadth* in length = 20·6786 inches, or 17·724 inches to the cubit.

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VI.

I have been much interested in the paper contained in the *Quarterly Statement* upon "the ancient Hebrew inscription discovered at the pool of Siloam," and particularly so in the idea that the discovery may define the length of the Hebrew cubit. My object in writing to you is to point out that further examination of the tunnel may possibly lead to the discovery of exact and definite data from which the exact length of the cubit measure used in its construction may be mathematically demonstrated. In addition to the tablet (or smoothed portion of rock) upon which the inscription is cut, Mr. Sayce says he "came across small portions which had apparently been smoothed, as well as hollows or niches in the face of them all." I suppose these niches are of triangular shape like the one said to be opposite the tablet. If so, I am inclined to form a different theory as to the formation of the triangular nich opposite the tablet than that which Mr. Schick suggests A theory

which will also account for the existence of the other niches which are found at intervals in the walls of the tunnel.

To construct a tunnel from both ends, the starting point must be definitely marked somewhere, and careful measurement must be made along the course of the tunnel as the excavation proceeds. Now if the niches occur at regular intervals along the tunnel, it is more reasonable to suppose they each mark off a measured length, so that instead of remeasuring the whole distance whenever the amount of work done is required to be known, a measurement from the last mark would be sufficient. If the niches are large enough to hold a lamp, a double purpose may have been served in their construction. The triangular point would serve to indicate distance, and the light would serve to light the tunnel at intervals, by which facility in the removal of materials would be gained. Now suppose this theory be correct, what more natural thing than to inscribe upon the wall of the tunnel the length thereof near the last nich? Probably the ornamental finish described by Mr. Sayce as found under the middle of the bottom line may be a mark intended to direct attention to the marks on the opposite side of the tunnel. The character of the finish is a remarkable one, however, being composed of three figures, two like the triangular niches in shape, and one just like a surveyor's mark.

It is even possible that the inscription and the finish are intended to mark the exact spot from which the thousand cubits are measured. If another inscription is discovered at the other end of the tunnel much uncertainty will be removed, but without such an inscription a careful measurement of the distance between the niches may lead to remarkable results. As to the upper part of the tablet upon which the inscription is found being without lettering, this may arise from an intention to engrave upon it the name of the king who ordered the tunnel to be cut, or some other record, an intention never carried out. Or it may have been so left to draw attention to the other tablet formations which Mr. Sayce describes.

H. Sulley.

LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE. By Rev. F. A. Klein.

(From the "Zeitschrift" of the German Palestine Exploration Society.)

Continuation.*

The clothing of the Fellahin is extremely simple, but at the same time comfortable and suited to the climate. Their hair is worn quite short

* The first part appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881.

except a tuft at the crown, and the first portion of the head covering consists of a white cotton skull cap. With people who have any tendency to cleanliness, this cap (Takîyeh) is washed every week, and for boys it is generally the only head gear. Over this they wear one or two felt skull caps, and then the Tarbûsh or Turkish fez, round which is wound the piece of stuff which completes the turban ; this varies in colour and quality according to the religion, rank or taste of the wearer. Sometimes it is of unbleached cotton fringed and striped with red or a red and yellow silk Kufeiyeh. The richer Christians use black cashmere, the Bethemites and upper class Mussulmen a strip of white muslin, whilst a descendant of the Prophet may be always known by his large green turban. In many neighbourhoods red cloth is worn, and the whole head covering is called a *Leffe*, from (*laff* to wind round). The more important sheikhs wear particularly large and cumbersome *Leffes*. I knew one Christian sheikh in Nazareth who, whenever he changed an old turban for a new one, took the greatest care not only to have it the same size, but of exactly the same weight ; if he found it lighter than his old one he added folds of cloth or extra felt caps, for he maintained that any change in the weight to which he was accustomed, gave him pains in his head. These weighty head dresses are rapidly giving place to the Turkish mode, and many of the upper classes who formerly took great pride in their ponderous *Leffes*, now wear what is called a keshf, a tarbûsh with a light *mendil* round it, or even only a tarbûsh stambuti.

The thick head coverings were certainly a great protection against the scorching rays of the sun, and in case of necessity they formed a very good pillow ; I have often seen the Fellahin stretch themselves under the shade of an olive tree, and enjoy the most peaceful slumbers with nothing but a stone under their head. It was strangely suggestive of Jacob. The *Leffe* with its many folds served also as a receptacle in which important documents or letters could be safely bestowed. Another head-dress which Fellahin who are in the habit of mixing with the Bedawin often adopt, is the silk Kufeiyeh or a bright coloured *mendil*, which is bound to the head with a woollen cord and falls over the neck and shoulders.

The body is covered with a coarse blue or white cotton garment down to the ankles, with wide sleeves reaching to the knees. This answers the purpose of shirt and coat combined, and is drawn in at the waist by a broad leathern belt fastened above the hip. For hard work or travelling the skirt is turned up, and the awkward sleeves are tied back between the shoulders. To wear the clothes almost trailing on the ground is a sign of opulence or else of arrogance and affectation. In speaking of the men of one or other of the principal Mahometan families people often make the remark that " they go ungirded in their houses."

A cloak called an 'Abba completes the Fellahin costume. It is a black or brown woollen garment of the most primitive and clumsy construction, it must have been in vogue as early as the days of the early Canaanites, for certainly it is no product of modern civilization. Some of the people spin their own 'abbas ; they are made of a very thick piece of stuff of an oblong

shape, and sewn so that the front part and two holes for the arms are left open. It forms a garment as useful as it is inelegant. It protects them from rain and cold ; at night it serves as covering and bed, for the Fellah retires to rest on a mat or on the bare ground, where wrapped in his 'abba he sleeps as soundly as we should on the softest mattress. Often in the inns I have seen rows of mummy-like figures lying close to each other on the ground fast asleep, and upon waking up they shook their coverings and put them on again as cloaks. If the Fellah has to fetch food for the cattle, or to carry anything to market, he uses his 'abba as a sack ; if the Mussulman has to say his prayers whilst journeying, he spreads his 'abba on the ground and performs his devotions in the orthodox manner ; if there is no available manger or nose-bag for his camel, he lays his 'abba on the ground and shakes the fodder upon it ; finally he can make a little tent of it under which to take shelter when out in the fields. Only youths or beggars can do without this indispensable garment ; for a respectable Fellah to appear minus his 'abba would be almost equivalent to going out naked. In winter many of them wear a sheepskin jacket with short sleeves, the woolly side turned inwards, and the outside smeared with ruddle. Stockings and socks are unknown luxuries ; they either go bare-footed or wear comfortable but queer looking shoes ; sandals are only met with on the other side of Jordan. But in the time of harvest, every one wears shoes on account of walking over the stubble, and at this period the shoe-makers do a very good trade. Amongst people who are fairly well off the ordinary costume is of course often modified, and gives place to more of a town style, including shirts and the Kumbâg, a striped silk or cotton gown, also a short cloth jacket called a Jubbeh, and finely embroidered 'abbas, ornamental girdles and town-made shoes.

The women wear a blue or white robe with wide sleeves, and for fête days a silk gown striped in many colours with pieces of red or yellow cloth let in to the breast and sleeves. Their 'abba is shorter and narrower than the men's, and sometimes they wear a short jacket richly embroidered in gold ; the 'abba is generally dark red.

The shape of the cap varies according to the different districts. In Bethlehem they wear a sort of cloth coif ornament across the forehead with gold or silver coins according to the wealth of the wearer, and in Nazareth and the surrounding district, a padded head-dress coming down the sides of the face, and decorated with a number of silver coins (five piastre pieces), often as many as six or seven pounds' worth. These foolishly heavy decorations cause them to suffer a great deal from pains in the head and diseases of the eye, though once they have become accustomed to them, leaving them off has always a bad effect. I had an opportunity of assuring myself of this fact in Nazareth ; a woman there had exchanged the smadi for the light sooki which is worn in the towns (it consists of a small tarbûsh with a golden clasp, a *mendil* and only a few coins at the back), she got ophthalmia ; some others had sacrificed their coins through want of money, so that only their cloth coif remained ; and all of them suffered with pains in the head.

If a woman is in want of money, she cuts off a few coins, if she earns anything she stitches some more on, thus her head-dress forms a portable bank on which her capital is stitched. During a night attack the first thought of the women is to hide their *smade*. The Bedawin will often attack them and rob them of their head-pieces, and in some villages they have even been murdered on their way home from fetching water, only on account of their coins.

Amongst the Christians, a woman will often leave her *smade* or a portion of it to be expended in masses for the repose of her soul. A small chain or band fastens this ponderous head-covering under the chin, and sometimes from this hangs a second chain on which is suspended a large gold or silver coin as a neck ornament. The *mendil* or veil is worn over the *smad*, covering the head and neck, though not the face, but if any stranger appears the women at once cover their mouth and nose ; a well behaved woman never appears in public without her *mendil*. Often riding through a village and passing near the huts, I have noticed the women without their veils, having taken them off, perhaps on account of the heat, or whilst combing their hair, but directly they became aware of my approach, the veils were on in a second. The *mendil* in some districts is white, and is often ornamented with a bright fringe and border as in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In the Nâblus district it is red, and round about Nazareth black with yellow stripes. The beauty or ugliness of the women is alike hid by the veil, only just the top part of the face remaining visible. They all use kohel, which not only enhances the beauty of their eyes, but is also supposed to strengthen them. On very joyful occasions, and for weddings, they stain their fingers and feet with henna, and the old women also dye their hair with it when it is turning grey. Bracelets made of inferior silver, brass or silver rings and bangles for the ankles are the principal ornaments. In some parts the women dress better, wearing underclothes as well as the orthodox costume. The girls can be easily distinguished from the married women by their much simpler and lighter head-dress. The *smade* is only adopted after marriage.

Like all Orientals, the Fellah's chief wish is to have a number of male descendants. As a rule, the sons remain in their father's house, or at all events in the same village, and a father who is surrounded by his sons and his grandsons not only secures help and protection for his declining years, but also gains greatly in honour and influence. A clan (hama'il) numbering two hundred men, under the present state of government, can get anything they want much more easily than one mustering only fifty. The fathers are very proud of their sons, and the sisters take the greatest delight in hearing their brothers well spoken of. Such being the case, it may be imagined that there is great rejoicing over the birth of a son. All the relations and friends visit the father to offer their congratulations, adding the usual formula, "May that which has come to you be blessed," to which he joyfully makes answer, "May God also bless you." A cup of coffee is then offered to each guest, or among the Christians, wine and sweetmeats. The birth of a daughter creates no excitement, nor do the

friends offer congratulations; nevertheless it has its bright side, for if every son adds to the family strength and influence, so each daughter is an addition to their capital, for on reaching a marriageable age, she is worth several thousand piastres. For instance, if a poor man has four daughters, they represent a capital of twelve thousand piastres, and should he be a poor man, the traders will give him credit on their account.

Immediately after birth, the children are rubbed with finely powdered salt. This process which is supposed to have the effect of hardening them is repeated for some weeks; sometimes it does the child a great deal of harm. In Bethlehem, I remember seeing a fine boy who had nearly lost his sight through this senseless custom, the salt having got into his eyes. On the whole though, the experiment cannot do the children any real injury, for in spite of dirt, neglect, and exposure, they grow up hardy, and soon get accustomed to the rough life which lies before them. As infants they are certainly not fussed over; even when only a few days old they are left swaddled and tied into a very primitive wooden cradle, where they have to remain whilst the mother goes about her household duties. If she has tried to protect the poor little creature from the flies and mosquitoes by throwing a *mendil* over his face, he is almost suffocated for want of air, but if left without, dozens of flies swarm round him and settle in clusters on his mouth and eyes; at first he screams and struggles as much as his narrow quarters will allow, but escape being impossible, he submits to the inevitable. It has often surprised me to see the bigger children playing in the streets or sitting on the rubbish heaps without making the slightest attempt to brush the flies from their faces, so early do they become accustomed to the plague of the land. Still, in spite of their being brought up with so little comfort, there is no lack of maternal affection. In their own fashion, the women are dotingly fond of their children, and will endure the greatest privation, and make almost any sacrifice to further their welfare. Whilst caressing them they make use of the tenderest terms of endearment, apostrophising the child with such expressions as "My soul! my Lord! my Life! Oh light of my eye!" and they sing them the softest cradle songs. They have a great love for all children, and would not willingly do one of them any harm. This is especially noticeable when they go out as nurses; nothing can exceed their devotion and the patience with which they work or sit up at night if necessary. If anything, they carry their affection for their sons too far. Many a mother works hard or denies herself every comfort until her latest years, in order to enable her son to marry, and then to aid him in supporting his wife and children. The women suckle their children for three or four years. They consider that long nursing strengthens the child, and have several saying to that effect, whilst they often give as the reason of a weak constitution, the fact of the sufferer having been weaned too soon. In such a climate this belief is perhaps not without foundation. If a mother dies, a neighbour will take the child until a nurse can be found, and only very rarely are they brought up on goat's milk. The children are early accustomed to eat bread, and are often

stuffed with the most unwholesome food. There is great joy on the appearance of the first teeth, for then, armed with a piece of bread, the child is left to crawl about in front of the door. If the mother has anything to do in the town or the field, she carries her child in a sort of sack on her back; and during the harvest, the cradle is often dragged into the fields. The children are spared much doctoring, a great deal being left to nature. For wounds, finely sifted red earth is mixed with water and applied in the form of a paste, or sometimes a bright red powder called zerakon. In bad cases of fever, they let blood by scraping the skin with a razor, and for inflammation of the gums whilst teething, they burn the under part of the tongue with a red hot needle. If these remedies fail, their power to help is at an end, and Allah alone can save. Many bad diseases of the eye might be prevented in the first instance by the simple use of a little clean water, but, unluckily, except for drinking purposes, the Fellah has the greatest dislike to making use of it.

A child having made his first effort at speech by acquiring the words father and mother, he next accomplishes the "abuk" or cursing of his father, and when he can seize hold of his father's beard and cry abuk, his parent greatly rejoices, and everyone predicts his future worth.

The children have literally no games, they tumble about the streets and squares, and in their way seem quite merry and contented. Directly they are old enough they begin to make themselves useful by taking the goats and donkeys to the pastures, and watching to prevent them straying into the vineyards or cultivated fields, and there the boys lie under the shade of an olive or fig tree quietly looking out, or sometimes whiling away the time by playing on a very primitive sort of pipe made of reed. When the fruit begins to ripen, they are set to watch the vineyards and fig-gardens in order to frighten away chance intruders by screaming and throwing stones. During the harvest they help to load and drive home the camels. The girls balancing a water pot on their heads, soon learn to fetch water from the well. They have also to collect fuel and dry it in the sun ready for the oven, to help their mother fetch wood, to tend the younger children, and directly they are strong enough, they learn to grind the grain, knead the dough, and help with the baking. In the neighbourhood of a large town, many children, both boys and girls, are employed by the builders, some come from a considerable distance, and remaining in the town all the week, only return home on Saturdays. They live chiefly on bread, eating with it onions, fruit, cheese, olives, or some such relish; meat they very seldom taste.

Until about fifty years ago, when foreign missions and societies began to take an interest in the welfare of the children, there were literally no elementary schools; but now, in all the towns, and in the larger villages, we find several of various denominations—Greek, Roman, Protestant, or Armenian—as well as the Government schools for Mahometans. Many of the Fellahin, convinced of the necessity of education, send their children regularly to one or other of these schools. Previously, only people who were well off sent their children to either a Christian or a Mahometan

school, where they were taught to read Arabic and perhaps to write a little. The Mussulman learnt to drone out the Koran, the Christians the Psalms ; even now the Koran and the Psalms are respectively the first reading books. The salary of the schoolmaster was paid in kind, namely in bread and eggs, which the pupils brought with them every day, and to which they added a few piastres at the end of the month. Sometimes, when the children had reached a certain part of their text books, a backsheesh would be presented to the teacher, in acknowledgment of their progress. I have met old men who could repeat the whole of the Psalms or long portions of the Koran by heart, having learnt them in this way. The writing was done on a wooden tablet, but they seldom made as much progress in caligraphy as in reading or learning by heart ; even now there are some villages (generally Mahometan) where not a creature excepting the *katib* or preacher could read or write, and occasionally not even he, so that if a letter comes which has to be read, or if anything has to be written, they are obliged to send to the next village, where the *katib* will just manage to spell out the contents, or to scrawl a few characters on paper. The Arabian schoolmaster's only method was to frighten his pupils into attention and a small amount of industry ; to this end he used the rod and the "*falak*," a wooden thing to which the delinquent's feet were tied by a cord, whilst he lay on the ground to be belaboured by his teacher. Now and then I have seen this much-hated instrument hung up on the wall, in order to intimidate the children. In very exceptional cases a father would let his daughters learn to read, but this never happened in Mahometan families. Some of the Fellahin are very sharp-witted and teachable. A good supply of capable schoolmasters and careful school inspectors would soon be able to improve the state of the village schools, and to introduce a more progressive system. The children seldom remain at school later than their thirteenth year, by which time they are very often engaged, and sometimes even married, whereupon they assume the manly *lefle*, and commence their calling in life. The majority of them take to agriculture, and find full occupation in tending the vineyards and fig-gardens, or in looking after the crops and the cattle. Others follow trades, but beyond becoming shoemakers, weavers, builders, or joiners, there is but little choice, and even in these they find scanty employment. In some villages there is not a single artisan. The weaver uses a very primitive loom, and makes the thick cotton material used for the *tob ;* although a great quantity of European cotton is sold in Syria, the Fellah does not find it strong enough for this strange garment ; in the same manner they weave the thick stuff for the 'abbas, though the finer ones come from Damascus. A weaver who begins his work in good time, can easily make enough stuff for a garment during the day, and earn a fair profit for his work. The joiners make the wooden parts of the very simple ploughs and farm implements, and those who have advanced a little in their trade are able to put up the rough doors and window frames, but more difficult work would be beyond them. The iron portions of the plough and the various tools, are made either by the smith of the nearest

town or by gipsies (Naury), who travel about the country making nails, axe-heads, etc., and dwelling in black Bedawin tents. Only on the other side of Jordan do we find smiths in the smaller villages, and there the surname Haddad (smith or forger) is of frequent occurrence. For things which they can neither obtain in their own village nor in the neighbouring town, the Fellahin are dependent on journeymen mechanics—copper-smiths, silversmiths, gun-makers, pedlars, and coverlet makers, who travel from place to place accordingly as they find work. The pedlars and mattress-makers are generally Jews. Quack doctors and inoculators are also to be found travelling through the villages.

In Bethlehem there is a considerable industry in rosaries and ornaments made of mother-o'-pearl and the black *Nebeg musa* stone, through which trade many families earn a living, and some even become wealthy.

Again, in villages like Ram Allah and Lifta, many gain their living by keeping donkeys and carrying produce into the towns. Every morning one sees groups of these animals being driven to the market at Jerusalem, laden according to the season, sometimes with wood, fruit, or grain, at others with oil or water. In the evening they trot merrily home with much joking on the part of the drivers. Lifta is the great centre of the donkey drivers and water-carriers, and in Sârîs and Kubebe there are a great many camel-drivers, who are chiefly employed in carrying wares between Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Nâbulus.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME REMARKS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE IMPRESSIONS ON THE VASE HANDLES FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

By J. Baker Greene, LL.B.

Amongst the many objects contained in the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, perhaps none are marked with a greater interest, both in their historical and their religious associations, than some fragments of pottery, easily identified as vase handles, which were discovered some years since in the vicinity of the Temple wall at Jerusalem. Two or three of these fragments contain inscriptions, or rather impressions made in the clay when in process of manufacture, but although the Phœnician characters have been deciphered, I am not aware that up to the present any explanation of their meaning has been given which has recommended itself to the acceptance of Biblical archæologists. The object of the present paper is to throw, if possible, some light upon this obscure but most interesting subject.

The characters found on these vase handles are Phœnician, and similar to

those on the Moabite Stone, the date of which is as nearly as possible 900 B.C. Judging of the probable date of this pottery, which was found at the south-eastern corner of Solomon's palace, and adjoining the foot of the Temple wall, and which must have been subsequent to the building of the Temple, and prior to the Babylonian captivity, we should expect that the words, like those in the Moabite inscription, would be similar to those found in the Old Testament records, and if so we are not likely to err in intrepreting them in the same way.

The characters found on one of the vase handles transcribed into Hebrew, are as follows:—L ל, M מ, L ל, Ch ך, Ts צ, P פ H. ה, or in their entirety, L M L Ch Ts P H. To these letters we must now supply the vowel points. The subdivision of the words into L : M L Ch : and Ts P H is doubtless correct. Let us for the present postpone the consideration of the first word or letter L.

M L Ch may be read, following the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, as Moloch, Molech, or Melech. This word, however spelt, was the name given to one of the deities worshipped in Canaan, and is supposed to have been the sun-god regarded in his scorching or destruction aspect, and as such he was propitiated with human sacrifices by fire. Molech was also, especially by the Carthagenians, identified with the planet Saturn, which may explain the myth of Saturn devouring his children. The word when translated, is "king," as Baal means "lord," but in the Hebrew text the word Molech is generally supposed to be used to express the deity, Melech to express the title of king. The word Moloch occurs very rarely. Molech is, like Baal, almost invariably preceded by the definite article. There are several passages in the Old Testament where this word is translated king, in which there can be no doubt the deity was alluded to. For example, in Is. xxx, 33, "For Tophet is ordained of old. Yea for *the king* it is prepared, etc." The Hebrew text is Molech, but we know from other sources that it was in Tophet that the fearful rites of Molech worship were chiefly celebrated. 2 Kings xxiii, 10; Jer. vii, 31, etc.

The letters in this inscription may therefore be read Molech or Melech, and in the absence of anything else to guide us, might, with equal plausibility, be construed as the name of a deity or the title of an earthly monarch. Let us now proceed to consider the next word.

Ts P H is supposed to be Zepha, and this is further presumed to be a proper name. I question very much the accuracy of this conclusion. There is no record in history of a king so named, ruling either in the northern or southern kingdom, into which the Jewish Monarchy was split up by the revolt of the ten tribes, or in any of the adjacent States. I also think it very improbable that any king in those times, or indeed in any other, would have stamped his name and title on pottery intrinsically valueless. If he desired to mark it as royal property, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he would adopt such a device or such an idiom. Let us cast about for a more probable solution of the mystery.

The Hebrew verb Zapha (Ts P H with the necessary vowel points

means "to look out, to view," and also "to shine," at least in the Arabic. It would be needless to cite passages in which it is used in the former sense, but we must refer to one because it is very much in point. At the parting between Laban and Jacob on Mount Gilead, they raised a heap of stones, and set up a pillar, and made a covenant to respect each other's possessions. Laban called the pillar "the Mizpah, for he said, the Lord watch (Jehovah itzeph) between me and thee when we are absent one from another." Gen. xxxi, 49. The verb is here employed to indicate the unceasing watchfulness of God, and a *paranomasia* is used to connect it with Mizpah, which comes from the same root, and signifies not only a pillar, but a watch tower. In the absence therefore of any indication that Ts P H is a proper name, it seems only reasonable to treat it as an ordinary translatable word, and all the more if we find that it is such a word as would in all probability be associated with the name given to the deity, and be expressive of one of his attributes. Molech was not an idol; though if we trust tradition, he was represented by a brazen image in the valley of Ben Hinnom, in whose outstretched arms the children were placed which were sacrificed to the terrible god. The early religion of the inhabitants of Palestine was simply nature worship. But the forces of nature were various. The unseen power whose efforts alone were manifest, might be exercised in a beneficial or in a destructive manner. The sun might by its genial warmth bring forth in abundance the fruits of the earth, or by its scorching heat utterly consume them. The generative power in nature needed the productive power as a counterpart, and if there was a king or lord of heaven, there was a queen or lady. The consort of Baal, or perhaps more correctly speaking the complement, was Baaltis. The Ashera (in the authorised version rendered "the grove") which was the symbol of the queen of heaven, invariably stood beside the altar which was raised to the king, and as we know, stood in the temple of Jerusalem at the time of King Josiah, by whom it was cut down. The Baalim and the Ashtaroth were numerous, but it is doubtful whether they were regarded as distinct deities or only as indicative of different manifestations of divine power. But however this may be, "the Molech," Κατ' ἐξοχην "the king," was believed to view, *i.e.*, to look out of heaven constantly, and if it was desired to refer to this attribute, some form of the verb Tsapha would unquestionably have been used by an Israelite living at the era to which the pottery found in underground Jerusalem unquestionably must be referred.

It may perhaps be suggested that Molech Z P H is simply an illustration of a practice which was very common amongst the various races inhabiting the region which, for convenience sake, we will call Palestine. We mean that of calling themselves by names compounded of the name of the deity they desired to honour. A great number of Israelitish names were thus formed, and a very curious light they seem to throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity. For example Joash (a compound of Jehovah) has a son named Jerubbaal (a compound of Baal), who becomes Judge over Israel, and is succeeded by his son Abimelech (a compound of

Molech). Saul called one of his sons Jonathan (a compound of Jehovah), and another Eshbaal; and Jonathan in his turn called his son Meribbaal. Saul's High Priest is in one place called Ahiah (a compound of Jehovah), (1 Sam. xiv), and in a subsequent one is called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), which would almost lead to the notion that Jehovah and "the Molech" were at one time considered convertible terms. David called one of his sons Beeliadah (1 Chr. xiv, 7), but elsewhere (2 Sam. v, 16) his name appears as Eliada (a compound of El, Elohim or God). Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and many other names might be cited as compounds of Jehovah. The Carthagenians, it is needless to remind the reader, preserved the usage of their Phœnician ancestors, as illustrated in such names as Hannibal, Asdrubal, &c., names compounded of Baal.

May we not have here stamped on this jar handle a name compounded of Molech, and may not this stamp be that of the potter who made the jar or of the owner? The latter supposition may, I think, be summarily rejected. The modern usage of having crests or cyphers stamped on dinner plates when in the course of manufacture, or if in trade, of having the name and calling of the makers stamped on bottles and jars, was, so far as I am aware, unknown to the ancients. The possibility that it may be the potter's name demands, however, careful consideration, because if we have here simply the manufacturer's stamp, the discovery of these jar handles throws no light on the religion of Israel.

We have in the Old Testament one name which has an apparent if not a real analogy to Melech Z P H considered as a compound name. It is Zephaniah; the last syllable indicates a compound of Jehovah, but it is not so easy to speak with certainty regarding the first portion of the word. St. Jerome was of opinion that it was derived from the verb we have just been considering, Zapha, and accordingly interpreted the entire name as "speculator Domini," the watcher of Jehovah. This would have been a very fitting name for the prophet, of whose name St. Jerome supplied the etymology, but as he was named when he was a child, and as others who were not prophets held the name before him, we must examine his name irrespective of the qualifications of its possessor. Gesenius with more probability derives the name from Zaphan, "to hide," the true interpretation of the entire name being "whom Jehovah hides," that is "defends."

Those who accept the patristic etymology will see in Zephaniah the precise counterpart of Molech Zepha. The only difference being that one name is compounded of Jehovah, and the other of Molech. Those who prefer placing their reliance on Gesenius, must however still admit that there is no valid reason why a compound name should not have been formed with the verb Zapha as with the verb Zaphan.

Curiously enough there was a Zephaniah who was second priest in the Temple at the time of its destruction by order of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv, 18), and the temptation is very great to identify his name with the inscription, and to conclude that as Ahiah (1 Sam. xiv) became Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), so the Molech Z P H or Melchizeph of the inscription became converted by the sacred historian into Zephaniah. But irrespective

of etymological objections to this solution, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that vessels used in the service of the Temple were stamped with the names of any of the priests.

Thus far therefore our inquiry carries us no farther than this—Molech Z P H may be a compound name, and in that case the vase handle tells us no more than probably the name of the maker ; or else Molech Z P H is a phrase which must be construed according to the meaning of the words comprising it. Let us however now proceed to consider that apparently insignificant portion of the inscription, the notice of which is purposely postponed.

The first letter is L ל. This is simply the preposition "to," which is invariably used in the Old Testament writings. In 1 Kings xi, 7, which states that Solomon raised a high place to Molech, the precise letters are found in the Hebrew text as in this inscription, L M L Ch ; and equally so in 2 Kings xxiii, 10, where an account is given of the defilement of Tophet by king Josiah in order "that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire *to Molech.*"

Does not, however, the employment of the preposition "to" furnish the key to the right interpretation of the following words, and completely dispel any doubts whether, after all, we had only acquired possession of an old Hebrew trade mark ? If Molech Z P H meant king Zepha, or if the two words together formed a proper name similar to Zephaniah, the employment of the preposition is unintelligible. But if the words be understood in their ordinary meaning, the employment of the preposition becomes at once obvious. If the vases or jars were employed in the service of Molech, what more natural than that they should have impressed on them at the time of their manufacture a stamp declaring that they were dedicated to the service of the deity, and at the same time conveying a warning that the ever watchful deity would take notice if they were stolen or appropriated to any profane use ?

And this construction seems to find corroboration in the writings of St. Paul. He appears to have been familiar with the practice of "dedicating" vessels and the way of signifying their dedications by means of a seal. In his Epistle to the Romans (ix, 21) he asks, "Has not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another unto dishonour ? What if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory." Pursuing the same train of thought in his Second Epistle to Timothy (ii, 19, 20), and using the same metaphor, he writes, "The foundation of God standeth sure having this *seal*, 'The Lord knoweth them that are His ;'" and then follows the allusion to the "Great house," where were "not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour." The Apostle thus continues "If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour sanctified and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work." The practice of

dedicating, nay of sanctifying vessels for the Temple, would seem to have survived down to the time of St. Paul, and it would also appear that in the case of earthenware vessels which, being intrinsically valueless, might in the service of the Temple be inadvertently used both for sacred or profane uses, it was the practice of the potter to impress upon those which were to be exclusively employed for sacred purposes a seal denoting their sanctification.

There are in the Museum two other handles, the impressions on which are not so legible. In both, however, it would seem that the introductory word is L . MLK ; and consequently according to this construction dedicated "To Molech."

The presumption that the impressions on the vase handles indicated the dedication of the vessels to a sacred use, is of course considerably strengthened if the inference be well founded that the figure resembling a dove with outstretched wings, which forms part of the impression, was the emblem of the sun-god.

How then must we read this inscription, and what light, if any, does it throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity? What were these vases and this pottery, of which the relics were found in such quantities as to give rise to an idea on the part of Mr. Fergusson and others that they were the remains of a museum of crockery which had been collected by one of the kings of Judah? The conclusion appears to me irresistible that these vases were used in the service of the Temple, and that this is shown by the place where they were found, and the stamp which declares that they were dedicated "to Molech who views," "the All Seeing" or "Ever Watchful." That Molech worship, which was simply a worship of Baal, existed side by side even in the Temple at Jerusalem with the worship of Jehovah, is placed beyond all doubt by the records of the Books of Kings, and by the protests of the Prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was just outside the walls of Jerusalem, and there the sacrifice of children to Molech was perhaps only too common down to the very eve of the captivity. We are told that Manasseh, Josiah's immediate predecessor on the throne of Judah, sacrificed his son to Molech. But under Josiah, a great reformation was effected. The book of the Law was found in the Temple by Hilkiah the priest, and Josiah proceeded to carry out the instructions which he found therein. "And the king commanded Hilkiah the High Priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal and for the Grove" (the Ashera, the symbol of Ashtoreth, the consort or female side of Baal), "and for all the host of heaven, and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel" (2 Kings, xxiii, 4). Is it very improbable that in this broken pottery found at the foot of the Temple wall, we may have some of "the vessels of Baal" (as they would be termed by the historian) which were cast out of the Temple by order of Josiah, but which, from their fragile nature, intrinsic worthlessness and incombustibility, were not removed to

Kidron to be destroyed by fire? Nay, do not all the circumstances seem to indicate that these vessels were cast in Josiah's time on the spot where they have now been discovered? So long as the kingdom of Judah lasted, so long it is reasonable to assume that comparatively little alteration took place in immediate proximity to the Temple walls. But when the monarchy was overthrown, and the Temple was rifled and destroyed, the first layer would be formed of the *débris*, through which, after the lapse of two thousand four hundred years, deep shafts must now be sunk to reach the ground on which Josiah's contemporaries stood.

It is not however necessary to suppose that the fragments now found are those of the vessels which were destroyed by order of Josiah. The pottery used in the service of the Temple was, like all other pottery, fragile, and when broken was doubtless thrown out as useless. Those who accept the rendering given by Grotius of Zech. ii, 13, will perhaps recognize in the place where these fragments were found, "the pottery in the House of the Lord" that is in the precincts of, or adjoining the Temple where refuse was cast, and which was therefore an appropriate place for the thirty pieces of silver of which the prophet speaks.

The material point is that the fragments to which I have directed attention were parts of vessels used in the Temple in the service of "the Molech," and that they dated in all probability from the concluding years of the Jewish monarchy. Josiah survived his great attempt at reformation only a few years. Assyria having been threatened by Egypt, he was so ill advised as to interfere, and endeavoured to arrest the advance of the Egyptian army. A battle was fought at Meggido, where the Israelites were routed and Josiah slain. The bent of Hebrew religious thought, both among believers and unbelievers, invariably connected temporal prosperity or adversity as the case might be, with divine pleasure or divine resentment,* and it was therefore not surprising that the terrible disaster at Megiddo and its consequences were attributed by the discontented people to their abandonment of the worship of the Baalim and the Ashtaroth. The kingdom of Judah was laid under tribute; many of the Israelites were carried into captivity beyond the Nile. Hence the bitter reproaches addressed to Jeremiah by the exiles in Egypt: "Since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven (ML Ch Th) and to pour out drink offerings to her" as "we and our fathers, our kings and our princes have done in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine." (Jer. xliv, 17, 18.) At all events, on the death of Josiah, the Jews and their rulers appear to have acted on the assumption that the deceased monarch had committed a blunder. The former religion was re-established, so far as we can judge from the little that is told us by the sacred historian of Josiah's sons and grandsons, who in turn filled the throne of Judah. It is conveyed in the familiar refrain, "they did

* This sentiment is very clearly exhibited in the inscription on the Moabite Stone.

evil in the sight of the Lord according to all that their fathers had done." Then came the crowning disaster. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonian monarch. The spoilation of the Temple. The removal of all its treasures, and the carrying away into captivity of the bulk of the population. To the Jews the night seemed at its blackest, but still it was the harbinger of the dawn. When they returned from the Chebar to the Jordan, and proceeded to rear the walls of the second Temple, a new era was commencing; Baal, and Molech, and Ashtoreth had vanished never to return. The overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus gave the Israelites their liberty, and when Ezra proceeded to Jerusalem, "with the Book of the Law in his hands," his companions, like himself, were the staunch maintainers of that pure monotheism which was then firmly established in Judea, and has continued amongst the Children of Israel uncorrupted to the present day.

BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses.

I have received with great pleasure the statement of your Committee that "they desire that their Journal should become as much as possible a record of all discoveries connected with Biblical Research." Few Biblical names are more interesting than those of Jannes and Jambres, or Kamr(es) as the Select Papyri seem to call him. The two are named by St. Paul to Timothy as agents, in a general way, who "withstood Moses;" and if we find their names connected with that of Moses in pure Egyptian papyri, in other words, if the epoch of Moses is the epoch of Jannes, and the epoch of Jannes is the epoch of Seti II and Bai-n-Ra, then many an old stop-gap theory of a merely Egyptian chronology will have to make way for the chronology of the epoch of Moses, in which the Bible and the papyri are very closely intertwined.

Most unfortunately, the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, which I shall chiefly make use of, has been injured at the name of Kamr(es), and the name only occurs once; but we shall find him engaged with a Jannes in a very important military business; a business the very object of which was to "withstand" a person named Moses. With respect to the reading of the name of Kamr(es) or Kamr, the authority of my lamented friend and former pupil, Charles Goodwin, is so great, that I am much pleased to see that he follows me so far as he goes, and differs from me only in saying nothing about the letter *r*. In the "Cambridge Essays," p. 262, he reads: "Ka Kam (Black Bull)." He agrees that Ka is a title; and therefore that the true name begins with Kam.

The passage to which I would first call your attention is in the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, beginning from plate 18, line 6. It contains a sequence of military orders from this Kamr(es) or Jambres. Happily we can here learn in a few lines a good deal about the man, and, to begin with, it is a great thing to know which side he was fighting for, in the anarchy around

him. On every occasion the scribes connected with him parade the grand titles of Seti II, and, with Jannes and Bek-n-Ptah, the three profess they will sing for Seti eternal songs; and "Oh," say they, "may he make for us myriads of festivals." Now in presence of Jambres who (as we shall soon see) could initiate the moving of troops in Edom, we have of course to ask ourselves was he a lieutenant of the Regent, Bai-n-Ra, or was Bai-n-Ra dead? Unless the latter was the case, I cannot in any degree picture the situation. Mr. Goodwin ("Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii, part 2, p. 359) is astonished at the frantic loyalty shown to Bai-n-Ra (2nd Anastasi, p. 5). An explanation which merely supposes him to have been a king does not sufficiently account for the fact. This was in Goodwin's day the general opinion, which not only leads to nothing, but Miss Corbeaux had already forcibly pointed out the weakness of such a supposition. In fact it rests upon the moral impossibility that the great Rameses II should have dismembered the empire in his own lifetime. Seti II also and his children would not have dedicated royal statues to Bai-n-Ra had there been even a suspicion of treason resting on such a Bai-n-Ra as the conqueror at Prosopis. The fact that Seti and his children allowed these statues to be erected has doubtless been the chief reason why he has been thought to have been a king. But to this the answer is sufficient that, in gratitude for his great services, the statues were erected *during the lifetime of Rameses II himself.* In fact at Medinet Abou the statue of Bai-n-Ra was actually placed *before* that of his own father. This I should say instead of proving, clearly disproves that he can have been then considered as anything more than a regent. To sum up then, it seems most probable that Bai-n-Ra exercised royal functions for about five years, and that his death took place about this time, which event, coupled with the absence of his half-brother Seti II, in Æthiopia, brought forward Jambres, and was the principal cause of the rising of the Semites, which eventuated the Exodus. While alive, his mere name, and the tribute in corn which he wisely gave the Khita, would suffice to keep things tolerably quiet, but "après lui le deluge." The key of the situation seems to have been at Edom, and a regent friendly to the Semites, and pretending to be so to the Hittites, might do much from Edom which could not be done from Æthiopia.

Again, Jambres and his companions have made it quite clear in these papyri that they worshipped Amen-Ra, the great Theban god, but then it is equally clear that Bai-n-Ra, acting for his father Rameses, built a strong place, avowedly to connect Egypt with the foreign men of Jaha (2nd Anastasi, p. 1). Four deities are mentioned as patrons of the four sides of it. Amen could not of course be well left out, but the other three were Semitic, viz., Sutech, Ashteroth, and Sati. In the face of this solid fact, how can Ægyptologists have been so blinded by the early military successes of Rameses II as to forget what his glories led to, viz., tribute to the Khita in his own lifetime, and a general preparation for the Exodus soon after his death. Wonderful discoveries in this very month of August show us that the mummy of the great

Rameses, at some time not yet known, was inclosed in a plain sycamore case, and dropped into a ditch to hide it from foreigners.*

After Bai-n-Ra's death the unity of Egypt depended upon the powerful and prosperous Khita, and the strategy of Jambres, so far as we know it, was equal to the occasion. The difficulty was first, to reinforce Zoar, the key of the position for defence against the Northeners; secondly, not to offend the Khita; and, thirdly, to keep a hold on his own Semitic troops. The device by which he secured the first and third desideratum was ingenious. He ordered a corps of loyal Midianites to Thuku or Edom, and kept in his own hands, as a pledge, the books containing the genealogies or roll call of the soldiers. This fact neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have perceived. It rests upon the following first part of the order I have been mentioning. (Anastasi 5, xvii, 6.) "Communication. When my letter gets to you, you are to bring the Midianites of the captivity to the plain in face of Tasak(arta), with an intimation given thus, viz., 'Ye (the Midianites) are not to carry away the genealogies of the people.' I will keep them in my hand in a written document. Then do you (viz., my officers) take notes, while you cause the people to pass along before their signalizing officers, for the object of arriving at Thuku. I give you command to carry them across (viz., the genealogies) for the people; I who am Captain of Archers, Bull Kamr(es) of Thuku, to Captain of Archers Ani and Captain of Archers Bek-n-Ptah in the Palace."

This translation (in a primitive form) I gave in my Exodus Papyri, A.D. 1855. In 1858, Goodwin, reviewing me, did not see his way to giving his own version, as he would have been brought face to face with the problem of Jambres the Bull of Thuku. Brugsch too, in 1879, passes it over in silence. It is, in my opinion, the very key-note which harmonizes all around it.

In passing on to the next part of the paragraph we come to the sign of a stop. In such a case it is not certain that the coming paragraph must be connected with what we have just read. Nevertheless, the context seems to give us a connection, and if it were not for the tantalising gaps at the most important points, we should all probably agree that we have before us what seems to be an order to close in on the south, given to another officer, Amen-mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah. Even if this part of the papyri were not otherwise interesting, it has achieved such notoriety that I ought not to pass it by without notice. Dr. Brugsch (Vol. II, "History," p. 358) has attributed its preservation to Divine Providence, and calls it the most precious memorial of the epoch. He follows Goodwin in considering that it refers to two runaway slaves. Now considering that a singular pronoun cannot agree with a plural noun, I consider that there was only one slave, who was a slave to two people, viz., Bek-n-Ptah and Amen-mesu, father and son, and that he was not running away, but carrying

* September. They now say that the above mummy was that of Rameses XII.

messages ; and that the order refers to the movement of a large body of troops. The reason Goodwin must have had for what he must have considered an improvement upon my version, was doubtless that the preposition *m-sa* may mean *behind.* No doubt it may ; but then, on the other hand, it no less frequently means *by the side of.* An instance of this may be found at Plate 13, line 1, of this papyrus—"While I hold thy heart *near* me." I am astonished to find in Pierret's dictionary that the sense of behind is given exclusively. "Communication. Seeing that I have given orders in the halls of the Palace on the 9th of Epiphi at time of night by the side of the *servant for two*, and considering that I am about to start for Zoar of Thuku on the 12th, to tell them to pass to the south, and to give orders for the passage on the Epiphi, I arrived at the fortress. They told me they had taken the field to pass Ta-Anab, north of the Migdol of Seti I like Baal. My order is for you to go. I have arranged for everything that could happen." Surely the running away of a couple of servants (even if they were Moses and Aaron) cannot have necessitated the movements of large bodies of troops like this. The order then proceeds, "Dispatch with them the bearer of the roll-call : dispatch ever so many men with them. I have taken care for everything that could happen, and do you give signals for great numbers of people beside them."

The English of all this seems to be that the commander-in-chief, Jambres, having received information that a body of Semites were escaping, ordered Bek-n-Ptah, who was somewhere south, to allow them to cross his front (just as Marius did with the Teutons), but to take careful notes from his corps in observation.

As had been expected, they were found to be marching north, and Amen-Mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah, was then consequently ordered to close up south. The "Servant for two" carried the necessary orders to the two corps, while Jambres took one more night's rest, and next day drove on towards Edom.

The next portion of the papyrus is a very curious, and very natural letter from the young Amen-mesu, whom we have seen to be in active service in the field, to his elderly father Bek-n-Ptah, at the depôt apparently of the troops employed. Instead of describing what he heard, and saw about him, he most dutifully, but most annoyingly says, "Prithee, send me word of thy condition." "Yea, not a man of those whom thou hast sent to visit me has told me concerning thy condition." "Moreover, send thou me some good loaves, and 50 small cakes ; the messenger brought 20 of them," etc. This translation is Goodwin's.

We next (Plate 21, line 8) have a letter which according to all rules ought to be of most particular importance, as it is from a royal scribe. Royal scribes were very great personages indeed, especially serving as generals, which this one did. His name was Rameses. He writes to one Avari, whom he orders to proceed to Bubastis, where he is to put the signals to work, and to report himself at the place agreed upon. He was not to go and stand at this place, and that place ; he was to go under command of the priest Rameses, where the military and royal Rameses

would join him at the breakage of the waters. "I am angry with you," he says, "beyond speech, your throwing away your business. I appoint you to work at the breakage, whatever state it is in."

Neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have said a word to this. This breakage of waters, however, cannot have been a small matter, so excited was the royal scribe. Whatever it was, it is probable he would seek to diminish its importance in his letters home. Bubastis was a central position between the fields of Zoan, the city of Rameses, and Tabnet, where so much was taking place, as shown in my last paper. My own view is that there must have been partial concentrations of the Hebrews with the mixed multitudes, previous to the grand march; and that the Egyptian scribes in these papyri give their account of the partial events here and there.

We must remember that the Nile would be at about its lowest on the first day of Abib, on and about B.C. 1291. A body in marching order might, I suppose, cut a dyke so as to cross over safely, while the downward water rushed out in the form of a wall on to the surrounding country. The gap would then tend to get filled up, and the royal scribe may have done no better than our own Duke of York at Walcheren.

In giving this description, the candid reader will remember that I am not professing to describe what did happen, but what the Egyptians said happened. The same caution applies to the name and deeds of Jannes. Six times is he named in these papyri, and the religious public has a right to ask of Egyptologists is this so?

Twenty-five years ago I showed the fact, and not one step of investigation into his history has been made; and now Professor Brugsch gives us the astounding transmodification of the letter *i* into *z*, and calls him Zani! This necessitates some examination into his individuality.

The honest Goodwin, as quoted above, names a Captain of Archers as "Ani." I confess there is a difficulty about this name, for facts are stubborn things. So in the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a mighty Keltic man, named Shan, and to have called him John, without any explanation, might doubtless have led to some difficulty. Now the name in the papyri is written in four ways.

pp. 113 and 119. 1.

pp. 117 and 140. 2.

p. 119. 3.

p. 78 (back). 4.

To begin with, I consider that the double mark in 1 and 3 is a sign of reduplication, so that the name which Goodwin wrote above as "Ani," is really "Anni." Another thing to remark is that in page 117, the name

spelt as No. 2 is ordered to escort some obelisks, and in page 119 progress is reported by No. 3. Surely, therefore, the names 2 and 3 were *meant* to be identical. Which then of these names is nearest to the spoken name of the famous Jannes? Of course it will be said that I am prejudiced, but then St. Paul shows that there really was a man named as in No. 3. I retain then the opinion that I was right in my Exodus Papyri, twenty-five years ago. Dr. Brugsch's present opinion is absolutely incomprehensible. He reads No. 4 as Zani (*see* Vol. II, p. 127). If this were so, Jordan and Joppa should be read Zordan and Zoppa. I may as well mention here that the discoveries here attributed by Dr. Brugsch (II, 127) to Chabas were mine; as also was that of Baal-Zephon, in the 8th Anastasi, line 6. attributed here to Goodwin. The letter concerning the obelisks is valuable, in stating that Jannes and others were "of the king's children," brought up probably as Moses himself was, and I strongly suspect that the obelisks had been made for Rameses II, and were being appropriated by Seti II. Their transportation seems to be dated in the 13th year, and I know of no king but Seti II who could have had a 13th year at this time. If this is correct, it would be the very year of the return of Seti II from Æthiopia, when probably the mummy of Rameses II was lying in the ditch.

The next letter is very curious. It opens with a negotiation between Jannes and "the great man." I am aware that Pi-oer, which means "the great man," was also a proper name, but the real name appears at the end of the negotiation. The great man had demanded a census, which had evidently been agreed to (by Jambres, I suppose). The real fight was on a point of detail, which was clung to earnestly by each party for reasons which we may guess at, but cannot well know. The question was whether the names were to be called out and answered *vivâ voce*, or written on tickets. An answer was expected that those in the actual custody of Jambres might use tickets, while those who had escaped over to the great man might use their voices. I may as well say at once that the great man was Moses himself. This compromise was to be nominally rejected, but this was to be on the plea that Jannes knew nothing about the foreign names and signals. Moses however was to be considered as on an equality with the nobles (*i.e.*, the Egyptian nobles), and if a few more objections could be slipped in while the enemy listened, it would be held that he (viz., Jannes) had done his best. Thus fruitlessly did Jannes and Jambres withstand Moses.

Here is the letter (plate XXV), "Communication. To wit. Seeing that I have sent the Captain of Archers, Jannes, captain of captains, to consult with the great man, it is because he had said to us, I demand a census of the people; and because (on his statement) we were to call out loud the name of each person who owned the name. Now let it be known to them I am not for the plan of calling out.

"I wish —— and Mai of Thuku* to give them tickets in writing.

* Mai held the highly important post of head of those Midianites who remained loyal to Egypt on the defection of the mixed multitudes under Moses.

It is between himself and God if they do not give tickets in due form. Likewise if an answer should arrive to say, 'Let it be that the names should be called out for those in your custody, for you brought them there, then you are not to make a question of the correspondence of the name called out to the ticket written, and brought there. You are to say I am not capable of reckoning with you the signals of the Midianites, with their signal officers. Thou canst repeat them, for thou are among them of a verity. Lo thou art Moses of the Semites. Art thou not a noble? Thou wast brought from another place (viz., Midian, I suppose), to set thyself on an equality with the nobles. Thou hast learnt their words of command, the answering to their names. I give orders that —— should be brought, —— their language with the language of those who live in Egypt, for thou art of the race of the Midianites.

"In giving our instructions again, a few words. While you listen, do what you can. Yea, are not these things to be reckoned to you. Your kind Excellency will bear the burden."

DUNBAR J. HEATH.

ESHER, SURREY, *September*, 5.

THE PLACE OF STONING.

(*Reprinted from the "Athenæum," by permission of the Proprietors.*)

I.

JERUSALEM, *August* 17, 1881.

THE discovery of an interesting tomb of the Herodian period in the rocky knoll to the west of Jeremiah's Grotto was recently announced in the columns of the *Athenæum*. Lieut. Conder suggests that this tomb may possibly be the "Sepulchre in the Garden" of the Gospel narrative. Whether or not the distinguished explorer is right in his conjecture will probably always remain an open question. I desire simply to call attention to one or two facts which will, I think, throw some light on the name "Place of Stoning," mentioned by Lieut. Conder in connection with the lately discovered "sepulchre."

It is well known that when Jerusalem was in the possession of the Crusaders the northern gate of the city (a predecessor of the present Damascus Gate) was known as the Gate of St. Estiene—St. Etienne—St. Stephen, from its proximity to a church of that name, situated outside the walls on the spot where, according to the traditions of that age, the proto-martyr had been stoned. From the account given in "La Citez de Jhérusalem" (*vide* Appendix ii to vol. ii of Robinson's "Biblical Researches") it appears that the church of St. Stephen was built on the opposite side of the road to that on which stood the "donkey-house of the Knights Hospitallers," the ruins of which building were discovered by Col. Warren some years ago. Saewulf (p. 43, "Early Travels in Palestine," "Bohn's Antiquarian

Library") tells us that "the stoning of St. Stephen took place about two or three arbalist shots without the wall to the north, where a very handsome church was built, which has been entirely destroyed by the pagans." These notices evidently point to the "Place of Stoning," that is, the rocky knoll above mentioned, as the site of the mediæval church of St. Stephen, and it seems probable that one or other of the two or three rock-tombs on the spot may have been the last resting-place of Eudoxia, the empress of Theodosius II. A French guide-book for the use of Latin pilgrims to Palestine ("Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte") states (p. 252), on the authority of William of Tyre and Albert Aquensis, that Eudoxia was buried in the church of St. Stephen, which she built.

It is remarkable how, during the lapse of centuries, the monkish traditions as to the place where Stephen was stoned varied. Arculf (A.D. 700) was shown the site of Stephen's martyrdom on Mount Zion ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 5), Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867) mentions the place as on Mount Zion (p. 28), Saewulf (A.D. 1102), and the author of "La Citez de Jhérusalem" (A.D. 1187) place it north of the city, and Sir John Mandeville (A.D. 1322) on the east, over against the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The spot now shown to pilgrims as that where Stephen suffered is on the way from the St. Stephen's Gate of our days (during the Middle Ages it was the Gate of Jehoshaphat) to Gethsemane.

II.

JERUSALEM, *August 25th*, 1881.

Having in my letter of the 17th called attention to a few historical notices concerning the mediæval church of St. Stephen, which is alleged to have been built by, and to have contained the tomb of, Eudoxia, and having also made some remarks on the vacillating character of the monkish traditions, I would now say a few words about the Jewish opinions respecting the "Place of Stoning." From various passages in the Talmud, especially Sanhedrin, fol. 23, 1, Bab. Sanhedr., fol. 42, 2, in explanation of Leviticus xxiv, 14, we learn that the בֵּית הַסְּקִילָה, Beth Hasekeelah, was without the camp, or more correctly, "without three camps," חוץ לג׳ מחנות, the first מחנה, or camp, being the place of the Shechinah, *i.e.*, the Temple, the second the camp of the Levites, and the third, Jerusalem, the camp of Israel. In other words, the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city, always supposing the tribunal which condemned the malefactor to have been held within the city.

Maimonides, Sanhedr. xii, 3, p. 96, is of opinion that if the trial took place outside the city, then the place of execution was situated at a distance of שלשה מילין, that is, three times the distance a person resident in the city was allowed to walk on the Sabbath from the place where the

tribunal sat. We are not, however, told in what direction from the city the place of execution lay. One local Jewish tradition considers the Convent of the Cross (el Mûsallabeh) to be situated on the site of the בית הסקולה, and another points to the ground above Jeremiah's Grotto with the precipice as the Place of Stoning. This is, perhaps, the Place of Stoning alluded to in the notice in the "Athenæum" mentioned in my letter of last week. The general opinion amongst those Jews of whom I made enquiries on the subject of the location of the Beth Hasekeelah, who did not seem to know anything of, and to whom I took care not to mention, the traditional sites I have just referred to, is that the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city and not far from the Damascus Gate, or rather the place now occupied by that gate.

The chief arguments in favour of the supposition that the place above Jeremiah's Grotto really was the Jewish Place of Stoning seem to be (1) the tradition; (2) its position outside the city; and (3) the adjacent precipice, though the last does not appear to have been an absolutely necessary adjunct to the Beth Hasekeelah, which, it seems, was a sort of scaffold ("ein Gerüst," Rabbinowicz, 'Einleitung in die Gesetzgebung und die Medicin des Thalmuds, aus dem Französischen übersetzt,' Trier, 1881) from ten to twelve feet high (*see* Lightfoot on Acts vii, 58), or twice a man's height.

If, therefore, we are able to identify the place above Jeremiah's Grotto with the ancient Jewish Place of Stoning, where after death the bodies of executed criminals were hung up by the hands (a proceeding suggestive of crucifixion), the question very naturally suggests itself as to whether this spot may not have been the Golgotha of the New Testament, conspicuous "afar off") Mark xv, 40, Luke xxiii, 49), near a great high road leading up "from the country" (Mark xv, 21, Luke xxxiii, 26), and "nigh to" but "without" the city gate. Compare John xix, 20, with Hebrews xiii, 12.

This theory seems to have great probabilities in its favour, though, as I remarked in my former letter, it will probably always remain an open question as to whether the recently discovered Herodian tomb be the actual "Sepulchre in the Garden" or not.

J. E. Hananer.

SITE OF MEGIDDO.

Aberdeen, 30*th March*, 1881.

Robinson identifies Megiddo with Lejjun, and Conder with Mujedda in the Jordan valley.

There is one important notice of Megiddo that seems not to have been taken into account in determining the site, 2 Kings ix, 27, "But when Ahaziah, the king of Judah, saw this, he fled by the way of the garden

house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there." This seems to me absolutely to exclude Mujedda from identification with the Megiddo here mentioned. Jehu would come from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, but rather towards Jerusalem. This agrees with one of the places mentioned in the same verse—Ibleam. According to Conder's "Handbook," this is to be identified with Wâdy Bel'ameh, south of Jenin. This is exactly the course that Ahaziah would likely take, but it is irreconcilable with Megiddo being either Lejjun or Mujedda.

There are three passages in the Bible which give definite indications regarding the site of Meggido.

1. Judges v, 19, "Then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." The obvious meaning of this is that the battle was fought in Taanach, and that Taanach was by or over the waters of Megiddo. Whether Taanach be a town or district, if the battle was fought south of Tabor, the only waters in which it could be fought are some of the sources of the Kishon. It is a question, however, whether the words may not be rendered "The kings of Canaan, in Taanach, by the waters of Meggido, fought." The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases the text thus, "then the kings of Canaan began war; in Taanach did they dwell, and extended even to the waters of Megiddo." Jonathan was probably well acquainted with Palestine, and felt the difficulty of connecting Taanach either with the battle between Barak and Sisera, or with the waters of Megiddo. The only other of the ancient versions whose author we may suppose to have known Palestine, the Syriac version, indicates a consciousness of the same difficulty. It drops Taanach altogether, and translates "The kings came and fought by the waters of Megiddo.' Thus the passage, in the light cast on it by these two translations, rather opposes than favours the idea of any close connection between Taanach and Megiddo.

2. 2 Kings ix, 27. The flight of Ahaziah. The localities indicated here are the garden-house, or Beth Gur, the ascent of Gur near Ibleam, Megiddo. If the situation of Megiddo were once determined, it would determine the direction of the other places; or if the position of the other places were determined, it would determine the direction of Megiddo. Lieutenant Conder, in his "Handbook," where there is no theory to support, identific Ibleam with Bel'umuh, near Jenin, in which case Jenin might indicate the site of Beth Gur. In the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* he identifies it with Yebla. It is thus evident that mere similarity of name is not a sufficient guide. We must turn to other considerations to find out the direction of Ahaziah's flight. Jehu approached Jezreel from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, or that he would flee in a direction that would cut him off from his own kingdom, Judah. It is most probable that he would take the road for Jerusalem, and the natural road would be through

Samaria. The account in Chronicles says that he was hid in Samaria. Jehu, when he was on the way to Samaria, met the brethren of Ahaziah. It seems to have been then the recognized route for the princes of Judah to take in visiting their kinsmen in Jezreel. The whole connection of the passage would indicate Jenin as the road which Ahaziah took rather than Beit Jenn. It would be absurd to suppose that he went thence to Lajjun, but it is as difficult to see how he would go thence to Mujedda.

3. 2 Kings xxiii, 29. The battle between Josiah and Nechoh could hardly have taken place at Lajjun. Lieutenant Conder's objections to this seem unanswerable. But the corresponding passage in Chronicles speaks of the battle as taking place in the *valley* of Megiddo. Mujedda would be a good situation from which to attack an army wishing to cross the Jordan, as Lieutenant Conder points out. But to a non-military reader it appears not to be secure against an enemy coming up from Egypt, unless the heights to the west were also occupied, and if they were occupied, it is more likely that the battle would take place towards Jenin.

With regard to the two sites, Lajjun and Mujedda, the former seems to have nothing to support it, the latter has its name. Biblical indications do not point to either, but rather to some point on the road, or near the road, from Jezreel to Samaria, where an army approaching from Egypt by the coast might be encountered.

4. The battle of Megiddo. We read in 2 Kings xxiii, 29, that Nechoh slew Josiah at Megiddo when he had seen him. And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem." In 2 Chron. xxxv, 22, we read that he came to fight in the *valley* of Megiddo. There seems also to be little doubt that the reference, Zech. xii, 11, "the mourning of Hadad Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon"—is to the same event.

These are all the references we have to this battle in Scripture. If Nechoh's army followed the usual route by the plains, the only possible part of the plain of Erdraelon, in which the battle could have been fought would have been about the head, somewhere near Jenin. To a non-military reader Mujedda would not seem a very safe position unless the heights to the west were occupied, and if they were occupied, the battle would more likely be on the western side towards Jenin. It is difficult, too, to conceive why Josiah should have allowed Nechoh to march all the way up the coast without attacking him.

But it is highly probable that this was not the route which Nechoh took. Herodotus (II, 159) informs us that he constructed a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, which he used as he had opportunity; that he invaded Syria, and defeated the Syrians at Migdol. The natural inference is that he invaded Syria by sea. He was obviously anxious to avoid all quarrel with the king of Judah, and to strike a blow at the Assyrian power. The point from which he could most effectively do this with a fleet at his command was obviously Accha, and it is probable that this was the base of his operations. He would consider the kingdom of the ten tribes as part of the possessions of Assyria while Jenin laid claim to it.

Hence the conflict between the two. Migdol has been considered a corruption of Megiddo, but on the map there is a place marked el Mejdil, south of Accho, which an army advancing from the latter place would naturally occupy in going to encounter an army coming from Jerusalem. It may have been the head-quarters of the Egyptian army, and Hadad Rimmon that of the Jewish army, while the battle would probably take place between the two.

While the Bible does not supply data to enable us to determine with absolute certainty the site of Megiddo, all indications point to the plain of Erdraelon as being the valley of Megiddo.

REMARKS ON THE "JAM SUPH."

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, p. 107, the writer of the "Notes on the Topography of Exodus" says, "It is remarkable that throughout the direct narrative there is no mention of a Jam Suph. Let us look at Exodus xiii, v. 17, there we are told that God led them (the Israelites) not by way of the land of the Philistines, although it was near . . . . but God led the people about (the original implies a circuitous route) the way of the wilderness, literally Jam Suph (there is no *of*); and verse 20 says God led them to the edge of the wilderness (clearly still the same as before, Jam Suph); there we find them encamped. The narrative then is continued in Chap. xiv. And God spake to Moses, 'Speak . . . . that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth between Migdol and the sea.'" Here we find the direction of their march altered, they are to turn. Now let me remark that the writer having stated that they had encamped on the edge of the wilderness, defined by Jam Suph, must in his continuation of the narrative when he speaks of the sea of necessity refer to that particular sea described as Jam Suph, and so I would say throughout the narrative, and this is confirmed by the repetition of Jam Suph in the song in chap. xv, and in v. 22 we have it stated that Moses brought Israel from Jam Suph.

Further, in Deut. xi, 4, we have these words of Moses in his exhortation to the people, "What He did unto the army of Egypt, and how He made the water of the Jam Suph to overflow them as they pursued after you." Other passages in the Old Testament clearly state that it was Jam Suph that was dried up (see Joshua ii, 10, iv, 23). Joshua xxiv, 6, relates Joshua's speech before his death. He was an eye-witness, and says it was the Jam Suph. Surely these places are rather too numerous to be accounted for, as Mr. Greville Chester does, by saying that the Jam Suph has crept into the text; can any one doubt with these passages before them that the Jam Suph was the sea where the miraculous preservation of the Israelites and destruction of their enemies took place? In the New Testament, Acts vii, 36, St. Stephen mentions ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, the Red Sea. This alone would prove little; but on turning over the same passage

in the Syrian version I find this translated as in the Old Testament "Jam Suph." Some will perhaps say this is a mere tradition, but anyhow we have Scripture traditions stating that it was the Jam Suph. The Jam Suph is first mentioned in Exodus x, 19, in connection with the plague of locusts. An east wind brought the locusts, a west wind took them away and carried them into the Jam Suph. Surely the description here given seems well to answer to the position of the sea east of Egypt called the Red Sea.

G. F. S. Stooke Vaughan.

HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

III. Samson and the Rock Etam.

Distance was nothing to the roaming lion of Dan. Eager to prey on the Philistines, he went down to Ashkelon, though both Ekron and Ashdod were nearer to Timnath; at another time he carried away the gates of Gaza to within sight of Hebron. When therefore he wanted to be quiet, Samson might easily have sauntered quite as far from home in going down to the top (lit. fissure) of the rock Etam.

In seeking then for this hiding place of the famous Danite, we must not groundlessly assume that it was in the vicinity of his native Zorah, but be guided solely by the following conditions required in the Bible:—

A. The *rock* Etam is in Hebrew called a *sela;* therefore it was a *precipitous* rock or *crag.*

B. It was in the tribe of Judah, as also was Lehi.

C. It was probably near to Lehi, where the Philistines having gone *up* spread themselves, and also to an eminemce called Ramath-Lehi, close to which was a spring called En-hakkore.

D. Its position was such, that it is said (1) that Samson went *down* (from Timnath or Zorah?) and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam, and (2) that the men of Judah went *down* to the same place and brought him *up* from the rock to Lehi.

In "Tent Work," the rock Etam is placed at Beit 'Atâb, and the identification is there thought satisfactory. It must however be rejected, as it fails to satisfy A; for though it may be said to be pre-eminently a *rock*—a knoll of hard limestone, without a handful of arable soil, standing above deep ravines, still it has no claim whatever to be considered a *sela* or *crag*, if we compare it with known instances, viz., Petra and the precipices of the passage of Michmash. Further, it is not clear how the springs to the north-west of Zorah could represent En-hakkore in Lehi, for they are situated far *below* Beit 'Atâb, in Dan, while Lehi was in *Judah*, and the men of Judah brought Samson *up* and *not down* from the rock to Lehi.

Any candidate for the honour of being the *rock* Etam, must pass the preliminary examination required by *sela*.

Accordingly it is unnecessary to sift the suggestions that Samson's retreat was in one of the caves near Deir Dubban or Beit Jibrîn, until a genuine *sela* reveals itself in that neighbourhood.

No position for the rock Etam seems to me more likely or suitable than one in Wâdy Urtas. This valley becomes a romantic gorge as we descend eastwards to the great cave of Khureitûn. Here, if not nearer to Solomon's pools, are found magnificent *crags*, fully deserving the title of *sela*. As this part is in the desert of *Judah*, conditions A and B are already satisfied.

The Ramah of Samuel was certainly (as it seems to me) just to the west of Solomon's pools. We have then a *Ramah* (with a spring adjacent) not far distant from a *sela* in Wâdy Urtas to answer to the Ramah in Lehi. This latter name appears to me to have been that of the valley extending north-east towards Rachel's sepulchre.

With Lehi in this position, the Philistines would naturally be said to go *up* to it in search of Samson, probably intending also, at the expense of Judah, to recoup themselves for their burnt corn with the rich harvest in Lehi or (else) in the valley of Rephaim. With the same precision of language, the men of Judah would be said to go *down* towards Khureitûn, and to bring Samson *up* to Lehi.

This position for the rock Etam is not really at variance with the statement that Samson went *down* (from Timnath ?) to the top of the rock, though the long *ascent* preceding the *descent* is not alluded to. David (1 Chron. xiii, 6) went *up* to Kirjath-jearim (from Jerusalem) to bring *up* thence the Ark of God (to Jerusalem). Why may not an *ascent* be passed over in silence in Samson's case, just as well as a *descent* in David's ? Thus a *sela* in Wâdy Urtas further satisfies C and D.

The name Etam still survives in 'Ain 'Atan, near Solomon's pools, and a city Etam at one time apparently existed in this district (2 Chron. xi, 6); though "the rock Etam" does not seem to me *necessarily* to mean that the rock was near a city of this name.

An Etam also occurs in 1 Chron. iv, 2, immediately after the mention of Zorathites, while the Zareathites (*i.e.*, the people of Zorah) and Eshtaulites seem in II, 50–54 to be connected with Bethlehem. This contact of the tribe of Judah with Dan at Zorah may have influenced Samson (even if he were not by descent connected with the immigrants from Bethlehem) to take refuge in their country when it was expedient for him to leave his own.

Not improbably then, through information given by Judah, the secret fissure in the crag Etam became the celebrated hermitage of the great Nazarite. But whether this could possibly be identical with the still more famous cave of Adullam of after time, must depend upon the precise kind of *hole* or *fissure* really described by the Hebrew word rendered "top" in the A.V.

W. F. B.

THE NATIVES OF PALESTINE.

We have from time to time been able to give papers on the manners and customs of the natives of Palestine, which have been received with great interest. The Rev. James Niel, formerly incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem, has just produced a work on the same subject, in which he embodies his own observations while resident in the country. Many of them are extremely interesting and valuable as illustrations of the Bible. We are permitted to quote one or two passages from this book. The first extract is on the measuring of corn.

One of the characteristic sights of Palestine, shortly after the harvest has been gathered in, is the measuring out of wheat and barley, which sometimes takes place in the corn-market, but more frequently in the courtyard of the purchaser's house. All families at this time, that is, during July and August, lay up in store the wheat which will be required to provide bread for the use of the household throughout the ensuing year, and also barley sufficient for their horses, mules, and asses during the same period. Samples are procured either from the farmer or merchant, and when approved the whole quantity ordered is delivered to the purchaser bound up in sacks. A professional measurer is always present on these occasions, and in the presence of the seller and buyer, or their representatives, duly proceeds to ascertain the contents of each sack. This is done by meting out the grain in a circular wooden measure in the shape of our own bushel, but less deep, called in Arabic a *timneh*. The measurer seats himself cross-legged on the ground, and proceeds to shovel the wheat or barley, as the case may be, into the *timneh* with both his hands until it is partly full. Next he seizes the measure, and shakes it strongly from side to side, by means of two or three rapid half turns, without raising it from the ground, in order that the grain may settle into a smaller space. This quick shaking together of the corn is a striking part of the process, and is very effective in forcing it to occupy less room. He then fills it further, and repeats the shaking from side to side, going over the same thing again and again until it is full up to the brim. As soon as this is the case, he gently but firmly presses upon it with his hands, so as to drive it into a yet smaller space. Finally, having first made a slight hollow on the top, he takes some more handfuls of grain, and very skilfully constructs a cone of corn upon the flat surface of the *timneh*, which he has now filled. He continues carefully to build up this cone until no more grain can posssibly be held, and that which he adds begins to flow over and run down. Upon this the measure is considered to be of full weight, and is emptied into the purchaser's sack. This is the universal method by which grain is now meted out, and the price is always quoted at so much per *timneh*.

These professional measurers are often dishonest, taking bribes from seller or buyer, and in this case are very skilful in cheating either party as it suits their purpose. If it is to their interest to do so, while apparently going through the ordinary process, they can so contrive as to bring the contents of the measure to half a *rottle*, or three pounds less than the proper quantity, involving a loss

to the purchaser of over 6 per cent. On the other hand, their dishonesty more commonly favours the merchants and townspeople, who buy from the poor *fellaheen*, the peasants. The cunning of the measurers in this way is said to be brought to the highest degree at *Nablous*, the ancient Shechem. If one of them in that town is bribed by the buyer of wheat, not only does he bring his measure to take up the largest possible quantity, but in raising it after it is flowing over, he secretly lifts up with the hand supporting the bottom of the measure a considerable quantity of grain, which is so swiftly and adroitly done as to escape the observation of the *fellah* who is selling it.

I have taken means carefully to ascertain the capacity of the Palestine *timneh*. It is true, different kinds of wheat differ in weight. The following measures give the contents in the case of the best quality. A *timneh* filled up to the brim, without being shaken or pressed, weighs six *rottles* and one-sixth, or just thirty-seven pounds. The same *timneh*, not only filled to the top but running over, that is, piled up above in the shape of a cone, also without being pressed and shaken, weighs seven rottles and one-third, or forty-four pounds. When, however, the measure in question is not only filled till it flows over, but is, at the same time, shaken together and pressed down, it holds just eight rottles, or forty-eight pounds.

No doubt it is to this simple and familiar custom that our Blessed Lord alludes, when He speaks under an allegory of the recompense of those liberal souls who shall assuredly themselves be made fat. "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom [that is into the capacious natural pocket formed by that part of the loose Eastern shirt which is above the girdle]. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again" (Luke vi, 38; Matthew vii, 2; Mark iv, 24). The above facts lend far more power and definiteness to our Saviour's graphic illustration than we should at first sight have supposed it to contain. There is no less than eleven pounds' difference in weight between a "measure" filled to the brim, as we should fill it here, and one such as I have described filled according to the bountiful method of Bible lands, when it is "pressed down, shaken together, running over." In this latter case no less than about 30 per cent. is added to its worth!

The next extract illustrates a remarkable passage in Ezekiel (xxiv, 7, 8) with other passages.

A practice to be constantly noticed throughout Syria is that of hiding any blood, which may happen to be spilled on the ground, by covering it over with the surrounding soil or dust. If while you are on a journey a *Bedaween* of your escort only so much as cuts his hand, or suffers from bleeding at the nose, he is very careful to let the blood fall upon the earth, without leaving any stain upon his clothing or person, and he then and there buries it out of sight by scraping over it the sand or dust of the desert before he proceeds on his way. The reason which they give for this observance I have not been able to discover. Most probably it comes from the thought in Numbers that blood pollutes the land if left to lie upon it (Numbers xxxv, 3) and from the plain direction in the case of the huntsman who caught any beast or fowl, to "pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust" (Leviticus xvii, 13). It is reasonable to

suppose that this direction, like many other matters contained in the Law, embodied and sanctioned an already well-know and universal practice. Very likely it arose from anxiety lest any blood appearing upon the ground might by any possibility be construed to represent some act of violence, and thus, in the language of Scripture, "cause fury to come up to take vengeance." This, in a land where the law of blood-revenge causing endless sanguinary family feuds is so stringent, may well be no imaginary fear. In any case, it is deeply interesting to mark its observance at the present day. It would seem to be referred to in the strong figurative language of several passages, notably that where Job in the bitterness of his soul cries (Job xvi, 18),

"Earth, cover not thou my blood."

A very striking Scripture in connection with this Eastern usage is that in Ezekiel, where God fortells the judgments coming upon Jerusalem at the hands of the Chaldeans. These judgments are declared to be a retribution for the reckless violence and cruelty that had openly stalked through her streets. "For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the bare rock; she hath not *poured it upon the ground to cover it with dust.* That it may cause fury to come up to take vengeance, I have set her blood upon the bare rock, that it should not be covered" (Ezekiel xxiv, 7, 8). There is here a force of meaning that might at first sight be overlooked. Jerusalem, as I shall have occasion elsewhere to explain at length, is essentially a rock city. The rock crops up to the surface in every part of it. In ancient times, before the rugged slopes and precipices of limestone and indurated chalk were choked up and covered over, as they are now, by mountains of *débris*, it appeared, as at the fortress of Jebus, with its walls resting on rock scarps in some places fifty feet high. Hence one of its proud titles was "The Tableland Rock."

CITY OF DAVID.

PLYMOUTH, *March 24th*, 1881.

The Editor, "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out in reference to the question whether the "City of David" was on Ophel, as contended by the Rev. W. F. Birch; that on page 229 of the number for October 1880, Lieutenant Conder maintains, that "these royal sepulchres on Ophel are identical with the "field of burial of the kings" (2 Chron. xxvi, 23), where Uzziah was buried," and are a "*place distinct from* the Royal Cemetery *in the City of David.*"

Now if the two passages in which account is given of the burial of Uzziah, be compared together, it will be seen that the place where Uzziah was interred, was *in the City of David.* They are as follow:—

2 *Kings* xv, 7.

"So Azariah (Uzziah) slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers *in the City of David*: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

2 *Chron.* xxvi, 23.

"So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which *belonged* to the Kings; for they said, he is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

Two other passages (one of which shows the distinctness of the two places of sepulture) confirm the view that *both* were "*in the City of David.*" They are—

2 *Kings* xvi, 20.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers *in the City of David:* and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

2 *Chron.* xxviii, 27.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, *even* in Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel; and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

In this latter passage the "sepulchres of the Kings of Israel" are evidently equivalent to the "sepulchres of David," whose existence on *Ophel* Mr. Conder says on same page (229, lines 6 and 7), cannot be denied.

It *follows* therefore, I venture to think, that the "City of David" wherein these kings were buried, must have been on Ophel.

Yours truly,

H. B. S .W.